5-2016

"I Haven't Worked to be a Token:" A Narrative Inquiry of the Experiences of Eight Black Female Assistant Coaches in NCAA Division I Women's Basketball

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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Leslie Kaye Larsen entitled ""I Haven't Worked to be a Token:" A Narrative Inquiry of the Experiences of Eight Black Female Assistant Coaches in NCAA Division I Women's Basketball." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Kinesiology and Sport Studies.

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“I Haven’t Worked to be a Token:” A Narrative Inquiry of the Experiences of Eight Black Female Assistant Coaches in NCAA Division I Women’s Basketball

A Dissertation Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Leslie Kaye Larsen

May 2016

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to Maw Maw. I tried to put into words what she means to me, but there are no words that can describe our relationship or the influence she has had on my life. However, if she were here, I know she would say, “Leslie, you did so good,” and making her proud is good enough for me.

Acknowledgments

As I reflect back on my time at the University of Tennessee, I note personal and professional growth, experiences that will forever be etched in my memory, and people who have accepted me, challenged me, and most importantly, loved me along the way.

Thank you to Dr. Leslee A. Fisher for creating a space for my passion for social justice to be realized and put into practice. You have always given me the freedom to explore my research interests and guided me in those endeavors, and for that, I am extremely grateful. Thank you for pushing me to grow as a researcher and professional and for helping me find my voice again. Lastly, I will always appreciate the care that you showed for me as a person and the support that you provided me throughout my time at the University of Tennessee.

Thank you to Dr. Rebecca A. Zakrajsek for always having an open door for me when I had questions regarding consulting and research. You have taught me a great deal about the power of positivity and believing in myself. Your influence has helped me become a better consultant, teacher, and researcher.

Thank you to Dr. Dawn M. Szymanski for challenging me to recognize my own privileges and oppressions. This recognition has allowed me to better understand my position in the current study and society as a whole. Additionally, your positive feedback on my writing has helped me be a more confident academic writer.

Thank you to Dr. Lauren Moret for giving me a seat in your Narrative Inquiry course and helping me find my place as a qualitative researcher. Your excitement for my growth as a scholar and for this study has served as a source of encouragement for me. Finally, your detailed feedback throughout this process has been essential to the continued improvement of this work.

Thank you to Jordan C. Ciciliano for being a persistent encourager throughout my comprehensive exams and the completion of this final document. More than simply encouraging me, you challenged me to trust myself, and for that, I am thankful.

Thank you to Alicia J. Johnson for your friendship and support over the last three years. Whether it was making me dinner, listening to me as I mapped out my research ideas on paper plates, or encouraging me through all of the tough times, you were always there for me, and I know I cannot say thank you enough for that. I cannot wait to see how we change the world in the future.

Most importantly, thank you to my family. Your love and support have allowed me to chase my dreams without fear, and I know that I would not be the person I am today without your influence. More specifically, thank you to my brother, Lance, for showing me what it means to work hard and pursue opportunities without fear. To my Daddy, thank you for teaching me that I should make time to do the things that make me happy and for making sure that I have always known how much you love me. Lastly, Mom, thank you for showing me what it means to be a strong woman, to love unconditionally, and to never settle for anything less than my best. I could have never accomplished this without the three of you in my corner.

Abstract

In NCAA Division I women's basketball, the majority of student-athletes are Black (i.e., 51%); however, Black women make up only a small percentage of the total number of coaches at this level (i.e., 26%; NCAA, 2016). Although these discrepancies have recently been recognized in sport studies literature (Borland & Bruening, 2010; LaVoi & Dutove, 2012), sport psychology researchers have yet to explore the underlying structural and psychological issues that lead to the underrepresentation of Black female coaches in NCAA Division I women's basketball. To this end, narrative inquiry (Smith & Sparkes, 2009) was utilized in the current study to explore the stories of eight NCAA Division I women's basketball assistant coaches who identify as Black women. . During face-to-face interviews, participants described the roles they are asked to fill and the ways they cope with the multiple oppressions they experience as Black women in coaching. Themes that arose throughout a thematic analysis of these narratives (Braun & Clark, 2006) include: (a*) Pregame: Learning to coach* (b) *First half: Experiences from the first 10 years*; (c) *Second half: Experiences from the last five years*; and (d) *Overtime: Thinking about the future*. It is hoped that these findings will lead to the development of interventions that can empower NCAA Division I Black female coaches as well as challenge current structural ideologies that disadvantage Black female coaches in this context. Further, creating a more inclusive environment at NCAA Division I institutions could enhance the experiences and coaching career aspirations of Black female student-athletes by allowing them to see empowered Black female role models in coaching. Implications for sport psychology consultants working within NCAA Division I women's basketball, who are well positioned to contribute to these efforts, are also discussed.

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Section 1: Why Here? Why Now? Why This?

My Personal Narrative

In April of 2010, I received a phone call that validated all of the major decisions I had made in the previous four years—the decision to give up a full academic scholarship at a prestigious liberal arts school to attend a state university with only a partial scholarship, the decision to quit playing basketball to become a student manager/assistant coach, and the decision to move 12 hours away from home to earn a Master's degree. During that phone call, I was offered my dream job, a position as a National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Division I assistant women's basketball coach. I was 23 years old, and I was ready to live my dream.

However, at the age of 24, I learned that dreams are not always what they seem. I began to see cracks in my idealized vision of what being a coach at this level meant. These cracks revealed an oppressive system in which we all played our parts. Athletes' class schedules were dictated by practice times and progress toward degree requirements instead of academic interests. Athletes were discouraged from choosing majors that involved labs and required more than 120 hours. This meant that athletes who enrolled with the intention to pursue degrees in nursing, education, and pre-medical or other pre-professional programs oftentimes graduated with degrees in interdisciplinary studies, and thus, severely limited job options. Lesbian athletes were told they could not date their teammates because within this system, teams are families, and no one should want to date her own sister. Coaches were hired and slotted into very specific positions based on their race and gender. These coach and assistant coach placements benefitted White men and hindered Black women in their pursuit of better positions, and I fell somewhere in-between. I felt handcuffed by my lack of power as a young assistant coach. I did not know

where to turn, so I ran towards what makes me feel strong: knowledge and education. I stopped running once I arrived at the University of Tennessee.

Once on campus, I was determined to fix the oppressive system I had recently left. I refused to commit to a single research project because I did not want to ignore the countless other projects that were equally important to me. Dr. Fisher appreciated my enthusiasm, but she strongly encouraged me to narrow my focus. After a year of intense internal deliberation and a number of brainstorming sessions on paper plates and white boards with my peers, I committed to learning more about the experiences of Black female assistant coaches in NCAA Division I women's basketball and to creating a space for their stories to be heard within sport psychology research as a first step. This decision was influenced by my personal experiences as an NCAA Division I assistant women's basketball coach and informal observations during my time as a student at the University of Tennessee; these experiences led me to posit that Black female assistant basketball coaches are being pigeonholed into particular roles. While I know that the current study will not end oppression in NCAA Division I sports, this is where I am choosing to start.

My Mission

I have a moral obligation to the participants who took part in this study and to current and future athletes, coaches, and administrators to help change NCAA Division I women's basketball. I am charged with combatting the systematic oppression that is currently limiting women and especially Black women from advancing as NCAA Division I coaches. This project is more than a means to a dissertation end. It is personal. It is political. It is powerful.

Section 2: Manuscript

Introduction

In 2005, Bruening questioned in regard to sport, "Are all the women White and all the Blacks men?" (p. 330). While research within sport has focused on either the effects of racism or the effects of sexism experienced by those involved in sport, few researchers have investigated the effects of the intersection of racism and sexism (Borland & Bruening, 2010). As a result, not only are Black women in sport discriminated against and neglected in mainstream media and within sport organizations, but they are also ignored in sport studies research and literature (Hall, 2001). When Black women are included in research, it is typically in the form of descriptive statistics that identify Black[1] women as an underrepresented group in the domain being studied (Bruening, 2005). Bruening further explained that, "without the words, experiences, and meanings behind the statistics, it cannot be assumed that 'the life experiences of Black female athletes do not differ in meaningful ways from either Black male athletes or White female athletes'" (Sellers et al., 1997, p. 700; as cited in Bruening, 2005, p. 334). Sport management researchers have begun to address this dearth in research by qualitatively investigating the experiences of Black female athletes and coaches (e.g. Borland & Bruening, 2010; Bruening, 2004; Bruening, Armstrong, & Pastore, 2005); however, sport psychology researchers have thus far failed to answer Hall's (2001) call for more research on women of color who are competitive athletes and coaches.

NCAA Division I women's basketball has the highest percentage of Black female athletes and coaches across NCAA sports and as such, provides a unique context for exploring

[1] During the interviews conducted for this study, participants used both Black and African American when discussing race. Therefore, Black and African American will be used interchangeably throughout the manuscript.

these sport constituents' experiences. In the 2014-2015 academic year, 4,984 women played NCAA Division I women's basketball (NCAA, 2016). Of these women, 2,543 identified as Black women, while only 50 of the 345 head coaches and only 314 of the 1044 assistant coaches of these athletes identified as Black women (NCAA, 2016). To state this more simply, 51% of the athletes in NCAA Division I women's basketball are Black females; in contrast, only 26% of the coaches are Black females. Additionally, 76% of Director of Athletic positions are White men, 13% are Black men, 7% are White women, and only 1% are Black women. This difference in representation is alarming given that research has found that a lack of visible roles models prevent Black female student-athletes from seeing a career in athletic leadership as a possibility (Borland & Bruening, 2010, Abney, 1988; Houzer, 1974).

While initiatives encouraging Black women to pursue careers in coaching are being implemented by the Women's Basketball Coaches Association (WBCA) and the NCAA (e.g., *So You Wanna Be A Coach*, etc.), little empirical research has been conducted to probe the underlying issues related to the underrepresentation of Black female coaches. Recognizing the need to fill this gap, the NCAA funded the current study through a $6,000 NCAA Graduate Student Research grant. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to use narrative inquiry to explore the experiences of Black female assistant coaches in NCAA Division I women's basketball by examining three important components: (a) the roles they are asked to fill; (b) the ways being a Black female has impacted the participants' experiences as an assistant coach; and (c) the ways that Black women cope with the multiple oppressions they face as Black women working in the White, male-dominated culture of NCAA Division I sports.

Roles in Coaching

Assistant coaches in NCAA Division I women's basketballs are often asked to fulfill a variety of roles. Weinberg and Gould (2011) defined a role as "the set of behaviors required or expected of the person occupying a certain position in a group" (p. 163). Roles that are common among assistant coaches in this context include recruiting, mentoring student-athletes, scheduling practices and workouts, scheduling games, planning off season workouts, coaching on the court, watching film, preparing scouting reports, managing team equipment, organizing team travel, serving as a liaison to various university or athletic department offices (e.g. housing, academics, and compliance), and promoting the team in the community (Forood, 2005). However, there is limited research pertaining to the roles that assistant coaches are assigned. For example, in 1993, Anderson discovered that African American male assistant football coaches were more likely to be hired as position coaches and were less likely to fill decision-making positions (i.e., offensive or defensive coordinator). Additionally, Borland and Bruening (2010) found that African American female assistant basketball coaches identified becoming "designated recruiters" and not being exposed to other aspects of the coaching profession such as practicing and game planning or public speaking as barriers to becoming head coaches. These findings suggest that the roles Black female assistant coaches are required to fill within staffs could serve as a form of oppression that limits Black female assistant coaches' opportunities to advance to head coaching positions.

Oppression in Coaching

Though research on Black female assistant coaches is scant, research on the sexism experienced by female coaches and the racism experienced by Black male coaches can provide some insight into the multiple oppressions experienced by Black female assistant coaches in

NCAA Division I women's basketball. Sexism and racism refer to "negative attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors that devalue, denigrate, stigmatize, or restrict" individuals based on gender (Szymanski & Stewart, 2010, p. 1) or their skin color and/or ethnic heritage, respectively (Gerrig & Zimbardo, 2002). These oppressions can occur at a number of levels (e.g. individual, familial, institutional, and sociocultural) and can manifest in external (e.g. discrimination and harassment) and internal forms (e.g. negative attitudes about oneself or the minority group in which one belongs; Szymanski & Stewart, 2010).

Sexism. Within the coaching literature, a vast amount of research has been conducted to call attention to the sexism faced by female coaches in sport (LaVoi & Dutove, 2012). At the individual level, female coaches have reported lower levels of perceived competence and feel a greater need to prove themselves than do their male counterparts (Kilty, 2006). Interpersonally, women are excluded from the "Old Boy's Clubs" that are rampantly prevalent in sport, and this leads to feelings of social isolation (LaVoi & Dutove, 2012). Female coaches have also found it difficult to secure a mentor, the lack of which may result in fewer future career opportunities and limited possibilities for upward mobility (Greenhill, Auld, Cuskelly, & Hooper, 2009; LaVoi & Dutove, 2012). Lavoi and Dutove (2012) cited numerous research studies that give evidence of women being undervalued, underpaid, marginalized, viewed as less competent by administrators, and silenced at the institutional and organizational level. Lastly, sexism at the sociocultural level serves as a barrier for female coaches (LaVoi & Dutove, 2012); this is because effective coaches are perceived as coaches who demonstrate "masculine" characteristics according to the dominant ideologies constructed within sport (Kilty, 2006). However, to avoid being labeled a lesbian and face heterosexist oppression, female coaches must also demonstrate hegemonic femininity. As a result, women "are left to negotiate conformance to feminine norms while simultaneously

demonstrating competence by exhibiting male/masculine behaviours that society upholds as coaching effectiveness" (LaVoi & Dutove, 2012, p. 28).

Racism. In addition to sexism, racism has also been investigated across varying levels of sport to help explain the under-representation of Black coaches (Cunningham, 2010). For example, at the individual level, Cunningham, Bruening, and Straub (2006) found that even though Black student-athletes and coaches have reported intentions to pursue head coaching positions and have not expressed internalized racism regarding their abilities to succeed in this endeavor, they have reported feeling discriminated against and having fewer advancement opportunities; this, in turn, has led to higher turnover rates than their White counterparts. Prejudice and discriminatory hiring practices; being valued as a recruiter rather than a skills or strategies coach; and the belief of some administrators that boosters (i.e., individuals who donate money to athletic departments) will discontinue financial support if a Black coach is hired are examples of racism at the organizational and institutional level (Cunningham, 2010). Cunningham (2010) further explained that at the sociocultural level, racist ideologies have been constructed in sport that depict "Whites as smarter, more ethical, better leaders, than their Black counterparts" (p. 397). Therefore, an effective coach is not only male as seen in the above discussion on sexism, but he is also White.

Cunningham (2010) advises, however, that while each of the levels were discussed separately for ease of explanation, "the different levels [of sexism and racism] do not operate in isolation, but instead, influence and are influenced by one another" (p. 402). This is especially important to note at the individual level to ensure that those who face internalized oppression are not blamed for bringing these experiences upon themselves. Internalized oppression is the result

of inescapable external oppression that is constructed by the broader social system (Szymanski & Stewart, 2010).

Effects of sexism and racism. Sexism and racism at all levels lead to detrimental physical and psychological health effects as well as career implications for Black female coaches. In the general population, sexism has also been linked to greater psychological distress in women (Szymanski & Stewart, 2010). For women in coaching, LaVoi and Dutove (2012) list the following as the detrimental effects of sexism:

> alienation, feeling highly visible and subjected to scrutiny, having to over-perform to gain credibility, feeling pressure to conform to organizational norms, enduring increased risk for gender discrimination in the forms of sexual harassment, wage inequities and limited opportunities for promotions (p. 18).

Racism has also been linked to increased psychological distress among Blacks in the general population (Szymanski & Stewart, 2010). Additionally, racism in coaching has been found to negatively affect career longevity, job satisfaction, physical health, and the possibility of career advancement (Cunningham, 2010).

Multiple oppressions. As previously mentioned, researchers have generally failed to consider the complexity that comes from experiencing multiple sources of oppression and the unique effects that the interaction of these oppressions can have on Black women (Szymanski & Stewart, 2010). Furthermore, the experiences of Black female coaches have been virtually silenced (LaVoi & Dutove, 2012). One notable exception is Borland and Bruening's (2010) qualitative study on the under-representation of Black females as head coaches in the NCAA. In this study, participants experienced isolation as they were often the only Black female on a coaching staff; were viewed as former players or recruiters more than coaches capable of doing a

multitude of tasks; and felt the need to hide their race, gender, and sexuality to fit the norms of the collegiate coaching culture. The barriers experienced by these women could not be explained by considering race or gender alone; instead, these oppressions occurred because the participants were both Black *and* female (Borland & Bruening, 2010). As a result, Borland and Bruening used an intersectional approach to exploring Black female identity (Collins, 2000) to explain the barriers experienced by the participants. The intersectionality approach (Crenshaw, 1989) suggests that a unique experience is produced from the joining of various social identities and oppressions, and that the position created at the intersection of multiple social identities "may be different or greater than the sum of its parts"; this can adversely affect psychosocial health (Szymanski & Moffitt, 2012, p. 14). By taking intersectionality into account, theorists and researchers recognize that Black women experience oppression in the form of gendered racism because they are women of color and not because they have separate identities as women or as a racial minority. Essed (1991) described gendered racism as the way sexism and racism interconnect and combine under certain conditions to form a single phenomenon. Gendered racism posits that "Black women are subject to unique forms of oppression due to their simultaneous 'Blackness' and 'femaleness,'" and this oppression has a negative effect on the psychological distress of Black women (Thomas, Witherspoon, & Speight, 2008, p. 307). In her original article on intersectionality, Crenshaw (1989) argued that, "because the intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism, any analysis that does not take intersectionality into account cannot sufficiently address the manner in which Black women are subordinated" (p. 139). For this reason, in the present study, I used an intersectionality approach.

Coping with Multiple Oppressions

Coping strategies are cognitive and behavioral techniques used by an individual in an attempt to manage a problem and the stress attached to it (Shorter-Gooden, 2004). When used appropriately, these strategies can work as a buffer against the negative effects (e.g. psychological distress) caused by racism, sexism, and gendered racism (Lewis, Mendenhall, Harwood, & Huntt, 2013). For example, Lewis et al. (2013) found that Black women use five coping strategies when faced with gendered racism - two resistance-coping strategies and three other coping strategies. Resistance-coping strategies included *using one's voice as power* (i.e. speaking up to address a microaggression and regain power) and *resisting Eurocentric standards of beauty* (i.e. resisting dominant ideologies about beauty that oppress Black women). Both of these are active strategies for dealing with oppressive situations (Lewis et al., 2013). The Black women in Lewis's study also reported using a collective coping strategy, *leaning on one's support network* (i.e. using a social support network; see also Shorten-Gooden, 2004). Finally, the participants implemented two self-protective coping strategies, *becoming a Black superwoman* (i.e. being strong, being self-reliant, and taking on a multitude of responsibilities) and *becoming desensitized and escaping* (i.e. downplaying the severity of and avoiding oppressive experiences). Both of these are inactive strategies used to lessen the stress of experiencing subtle gendered racism over a period of time (Lewis et al., 2013). These coping strategies are intended to help reduce the stress of gendered racism. However, strategies like *becoming a Black superwoman* and cognitive/emotional debriefing coping (e.g. *becoming desensitized and escaping* and *avoiding*) can lead to heightened distress (Lewis et al., 2013; Thomas et al., 2008). There are currently no studies within sport that investigate the ways Black female coaches cope with gendered racism.

Theoretical Framework

How best to explore issues of intersectional identity in sport is one of the central questions for researchers in cultural sport psychology (CSP; Schinke & Hanrahan, 2009). Although cultural sport studies have been a focus in sport sociology since the 1970s and 1980s, the use of a cultural studies framework by sport psychology researchers and practitioners has been limited (Fisher, Butryn, & Roper, 2003). Though no single definition of CSP can be identified, Ryba, Schinke, and Tenenbaum (2010) provided a list of six essential characteristics of works grounded in cultural studies and CSP. These six characteristics and the ways in which they were addressed in the current study are presented below:

1. *Interdisciplinary*: I drew from a variety of research conducted in a number of disciplines such as sport psychology, sport management, race studies, and gender studies.
2. *Informed by multiple theories*: The current study was informed by multiple theories including postmodern gender theory, intersectional identity theory, expanded Nigrescence theory and the Womanist identity model (These are presented in greater detail in *Section 4: Extended Review of Literature*).
3. *Concerned with social difference, power dynamics, and social justice*: The choice of assistant coaches and the roles that these coaches are made to fill are grounded in power dynamics within staffs and serve to reinforce these dynamics; further, when assigned roles limit opportunities to advance to head coaching positions, social justice concerns arise.
4. *Focused on praxis*: Research involved with cultural studies attempts "the bridging of the gap between research and practice" and is focused on praxis (Ryba & Wright, 2005, p.196). The ability to not only learn about the multiple oppressions experienced by Black female coaches but also to apply this knowledge to educate administrators, head coaches, and current and

future assistant coaches about these issues served as a key advantage to using cultural sport psychology for this study.

5. *Positioned in a specific context*: The context for this study was NCAA Division I women's basketball in the United States.
6. *Self-reflective*: I was self-reflective as well as self-reflexive throughout the course of this study. This self-reflexive process is discussed in greater detail in the *Methods*.

An additional advantage of using cultural sport psychology is the freedom to use a variety of methodological approaches including narrative inquiry, which I used for the current study (Fisher, Butryn, & Roper, 2003).

Statement of the Problem

To date, sport psychology researchers have overlooked the unique experiences of Black female assistant coaches. In 2010, sport sociologists Borland and Bruening studied the experiences of Black female assistant coaches in NCAA Division I women's basketball; however, they delimited their investigation to the systematic barriers these coaches faced and chose not to explore the possible psychological effects these barriers had on individual psyches. Thus, there is currently a lack of knowledge regarding the psychological effects that gendered racism has on Black female assistant coaches.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the current study, therefore, was to examine the ways gendered racism is used to limit the roles that are assigned to Black female assistant coaches in NCAA Division I women's basketball and to explore the ways in which these coaches negotiate their identit(ies) and positions within this context.

Research Questions

The current study was designed to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the participants' primary roles on their current staff?
2. In what ways has a Black female identity –in whatever ways participants define this - impacted their experiences as an assistant coach?
3. In what ways do Black female assistant coaches cope with gendered racism?

Methodology

Narrative Inquiry

Over the last 35 years, social science researchers have used narratives to better understand the experiences of their participants (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). Though the use of narratives began in literary studies (Webster & Mertova, 2007), there has been a turn toward using narratives across a variety of fields within social sciences including sociology, anthropology, history, education, and psychology (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). This narrative turn is described by Riessman (2008) as a movement that "is international and cross-disciplinary, not fitting within the boundaries of any single scholarly field or nation" (p. 17). The extensive spread of this movement is possible because storytelling is a universal human trait that goes beyond a single field or nation (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990).

During the 1980's, the study of narrative began to fully develop as more researchers made the turn toward narrative (Riessman, 2008). In 1983, Geertz provided a metaphoric account of the credibility of narrative knowing, and in 1986, Bruner argued that narrative and paradigmatic knowledge (i.e. knowledge obtained through positivistic research) were the two ways of knowing (Bruner, 1986; Geertz, 1983; Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). In 1988, Polkinghorne wrote *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences,* which outlined the importance

of narrative in the practice of psychology and began to develop a narrative theory based on how practitioners used narratives within their practice (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Furthermore, the Personal Narrative Group released *Interpreting Women's Lives* in 1989 to allow the narratives of women developed through a relationship with the researcher to be shared without relying on traditional positivistic methods that often ignored context and relationships (Riessman, 2008).

It was also during this time that researchers went beyond using stories as data in a variety of methodologies (e.g. ethnography, case study, and survey) and began to develop a distinct research methodology known as narrative inquiry (Caine, Estefan, & Clandinin, 2013). Pinnegar and Daynes (2007) clearly articulate the differences between narrative researchers and narrative inquirers as: "narrative researchers use narrative in some way in their research. Narrative inquiry embraces narrative as both the method and phenomena of study" (p. 5). In addition, narrative inquiry uses a storied writing style when representing the participants' experiences (Smith, 2010). The focus of narrative inquiry is on understanding experiences and stories lived and told, and since it is based on understanding and not prediction, it can be grouped under the larger label of qualitative research (Kim, 2016; Kramp, 2004; Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007; Robert & Shenhav, 2014).

The turn to narrative inquiry can be attributed to a number of factors. Most of these came from dissatisfaction with realism and positivism that dominated social science research (Kim, 2016; Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007; Riessman, 2008). As a result, narrative inquirers turned from positivist and realist approaches toward a research perspective committed to the understanding of meaning in, and through, narratives (Bruner, 1994; Kramp, 2014; Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007; Polkinghorne, 1988). Pinnegar and Daynes (2007) further emphasized that as part of this turn,

"narrative inquirers recognize that the researcher and the researched in a particular study are in relationship with each other and that both parties will learn and change in the encounter" (p. 9). Additionally, a desire to break free from the limiting qualities of numbers, an emphasis on the particular rather than the general, and an acceptance of multiple ways of knowing are the epistemological and theoretical differences that led researchers to narrative inquiry (Bruner, 1996; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Kim, 2016; Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007).

Political shifts in the form of "identity movements" within marginalized groups also contributed to the narrative turn (Riessman, 2008). In addition to epistemological, theoretical, and political reasons for the turn, Riessman also identified the development of technology such as miniature recording devices and the ability to create verbatim transcripts as influential during this shift. Lastly, Riessman (2008) posited that in the post-Soviet era, "social theories that privilege human agency and consciousness gained importance (particularly in the United States)…Theoretical shifts worked hand in hand with developments in methods designed to preserve agency and subjectivity" (p. 16). This aspect of the narrative turn is especially important for the current study because promoting agency and increasing consciousness within the participants is essential in CSP and are potential benefits to the participants.

Though narrative inquiry has gained vast popularity and been used extensively in a variety of social science fields over the last four decades, it is still in its infancy in sport psychology research (Smith, 2010; Smith & Sparkes, 2009b). However, Smith (2010) noted that recently, many sport psychology researchers have turned toward narrative inquiry to better understand the experiences of their participants (e.g. Busanich, McGannon, & Schinke, 2012; Denison & Winslade, 2006; Smith & Sparkes, 2005, 2009a, 2009b; Sparkes & Partington, 2003). Within sport psychology research, and for the purposes of the current study, narrative inquiry is

defined as “a dynamic process founded on a set of epistemological and ontological assumptions which are at play from the first narrative imaginings of a research puzzle through to the representation and judgment of the narrative inquiry in the research text” (Smith & Sparkes, 2009b, p. 3). Smith and Sparkes (2010) further identified six of these assumptions as:

1. Narrative inquiry is shaped by interpretivism.
2. Humans are storytelling beings, and we construct stories from our cultural life to help it make sense.
3. Narrative is a means to knowing. It allows us to know ourselves, others, and the world.
4. Humans live ‘storied’ lives. “We live in, through, and out stories” (p. 80).
5. Humans make meaning and use narratives as cultural resources to do so.
6. Stories are both personal and sociocultural (see pp.80-81).

Furthermore, narrative inquiry is understood to have a unique writing style in which the representation of the data is also storied (Smith, 2010).

Additionally, both Smith and Sparkes (2010) and Day Sclater (2003) have outlined several advantages of using narrative inquiry in sport psychology research. As Day Sclater (2003) wrote:

> To think about a human subject who is socially situated and culturally fashioned, at the same time as that subject expresses a unique individuality and an agency that makes the subject, at once, quite singular but also part of more or less local and global communities. (p. 319)

Narrative inquiry also allowed me to develop meaningful relationships with my participants as we actively co-constructed their rich and complex stories (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). The process of co-construction occurred as a result of the dynamic and interactive nature of the

narrative interview (Gubrium, Holstein, Marvasti, & McKinney, 2012). Within a narrative interview, the researcher is not tasked with getting the story; instead, she "enters into and explores the story with the participant such that they *co-construct* it together" through the back and forth dialogue between the researcher and the participant (Beuthin, 2014, p. 13). Throughout the current study, I worked to stay present and engaged during the interviews and shaped my questions and comments around the stories that the participants shared to create a space for co-construction to occur (Riessman, 2008). For the Black female assistant coaches in NCAA Division I women's basketball who served as participants in this study, it is hoped that these stories have the ability to uncover the temporal, emotional, relational and contextual aspects of their lives; reveal and honor the complexities of their experiences; and promote personal and social change (Smith, 2010).

Participants

Eight Black/African American females, ranging in age from 29-36 (*M*=33.6 years), who currently hold a position as an NCAA Division I women's basketball assistant coach participated in the current study. The participants coached in a variety of NCAA Division I conferences in the South and Midwest regions of the United States including the Sun Belt Conference, Conference USA, the Southeastern Conference, the Southland Conference, the Missouri Valley Conference, and the American Athletic Conference. The participants had an average of 10.5 years of total coaching experience as well as at least four years of playing experience at the collegiate level. All of the participants self-identified as Christian. Three self-identified as gay or lesbian, and five self-identified as heterosexual or straight. Four participants reported being single; two reported being in a relationship; one reported that her relationship status was complicated; one reported being married; and none had children. Due to the small population of Black female assistant

coaches in NCAA Division I women's basketball (N=314) and a commitment to protecting the confidentiality of the participants, a demographic table of individual participants is not included.

Procedures

Interview guide development. I developed a semi-structured interview guide based on previous assistant coach literature (see Appendix A).

The interview began by asking participants to tell their story about how they got into coaching. This question helped develop rapport as well as introduce the narrative interview structure to the participants (Riessman, 2008). From the start, I invited the participants to approach the interview like a conversation and encouraged them to tell their stories (Smith, 2010). Though I had an interview guide to help me direct the interview if necessary, I tried to relinquish control of the interview to my participants as much as possible. Allowing the participant to lead the direction of the interview is recommended in narrative interviewing in order to help balance the power dynamic (Riessman, 2008). This interviewing style led to in-depth, lengthy, and unpredictable interviews laden with rich data with a great deal of contextual meaning (Smith, 2010). I ended the interview by asking several general demographic questions (Bates, 2004).

Bracketing interview. After receiving IRB approval to conduct this study (see Appendix B) and prior to data collection, I participated in an audiotaped bracketing interview to identify ways that my previous experiences and resulting narratives may influence, limit, or facilitate the narratives I would co-construct with the participants (Patton, 2002). A trained narrative interviewer interviewed me using the semi-structured guide described earlier. I then thematically analyzed the interview in a fashion similar to the analysis of the interviews in the main study. The themes that arose from this bracketing interview were: Race, gender, age, and education are

all factors that contribute to what roles are assigned to assistant coaches; for Black female assistant coaches, their race can provide a way into coaching, but not a way up; Black female assistant coaches are placed into recruiting positions because of their race and gender; Black female coaches do a better job of developing networks than White females coaches do. Once the themes were constructed from the interview, I was reflexive about how these themes are the product of my own context and how my race, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, and social class affect how I shape knowledge construction (McGannon & Johnson, 2009). Further, following the instruction of McGannon and Johnson (2009), I reflected on how the political nature and power dimensions present in the research process affected the construction of knowledge. I wrote all of these reflections in storied form from the perspective of a fly on the wall during the interviews and included excerpts from my thoughts. These were collected in a research journal that I kept throughout the research process. In addition to contemplating the power dimensions within the interviews, I also reflected on my own experiences as a coach and included these reflections as well. To protect the confidentiality of my participants and the identities of others mentioned in these journal entries, I chose not to include my reflexive journal in the final document. It is through the narratives in these journals that I "hope to reveal [to myself] that 'rather than hiding struggle, concealing the very human labor that creates the text, writing stories would reveal emotional, social, physical, and political bases of the labor'" (Richardson, 1995, p. 191, as cited by McGannon & Johnson, 2009, p. 69). I also talked through my reflections with my major advisor. After discussing my reflections regarding the bracketing interview, I made some minor changes to the format of the interview guide to make it easier to read during the interview.

Pilot study. Once my biases were identified, I conducted a pilot interview with an African American female currently in a position as a NCAA Division I assistant women's basketball coach to further improve the rigor and trustworthiness of the current study (Kim, 2010). The pilot interview was used to help me feel more comfortable with the interview guide. More importantly, it ensured that I was conducting the interview in a culturally appropriate way (Kim, 2010), and that participants would understand the questions and feel comfortable answering the questions on the guide (Sampson, 2004). The interview guide was not changed after the pilot interview. However, the pilot participant suggested that I tell the participants at the start of the interview that they are welcome to answer any phone calls or texts during the interview. She explained that during the season, coaches are always expected to have their phones with them in case the head coach, a student-athlete, or a recruit needs to get in contact with them. I heeded this advice, and the participants in the main study seemed to appreciate being given the option. In fact, many answered texts during our interview together.

Main study. I used criterion-based selection and snowball sampling to recruit participants for the main study (Creswell, 2013; LeCompte, Preissle, & Tesch, 1993). Criterion-based selection calls for the researcher to create a list of characteristics that the participants in the study must possess (i.e., Black female and current assistant coach in NCAA Division I women's basketball) and to search for exemplars that match the required criteria (LeCompte, Preissle, & Tesch, 1993). Snowball sampling is a form of purposeful sampling that seeks out information from key individuals who can provide about the names of possible participants who fit the criteria of the study and have a wealth of information to share (Patton, 2002). I began by asking the assistant coach who participated in the pilot study to ask coaches that she felt would be appropriate for the study to contact me or get permission from them to send me their contact

information. I then asked former colleagues from my experiences in coaching to participate; additionally, I asked them to send my contact information to other coaches who they believed would be interested in participating. Those potential participants who granted permission for their contact information to be shared with me were then sent an email asking if they would be willing to be interviewed for a study about the experiences of NCAA DI African American female assistant basketball coaches (see Appendix C). In total, I contacted 25 potential participants, and 12 agreed to participate. Four of the participants could not find an opening in their schedules that would allow time for an interview, so they were not included in the study. As a result, there were eight participants in the main study.

Once a coach agreed to participate, I sent a follow-up email to set up a time that was convenient for her to be interviewed. At the decided upon time, I conducted a face-to-face interview at a location chosen by the participant (Elwood & Martin, 2000). Prior to the start of the interview, participants were asked to sign an informed consent form as well as if they were comfortable having the interview audio recorded (see Appendix D). Once consent was given for both, I started recording and began the interview. Interviews lasted between 46 and 102 minutes. Each participant was asked to provide her own pseudonym to ensure confidentiality and to further establish her position of power as a co-constructor within the research process (Busanich, McGannon, & Schinke, 2012). Finally, the interviews were transcribed verbatim by a transcription service.

Member checking. Once the interviews were transcribed, I emailed the completed transcript to each participant to ensure that the transcriptions were an accurate representation of what they said (Patton, 2002). Transcribing the interviews is part of the interpretive process, so it was important to verify with the participants that their words were reconstructed in written form

in a manner that represented their intended meaning (Riessman, 2008). None of the participants requested any changes to be made to their transcripts. Additionally, I emailed the completed thematic analysis to participants (Creswell, 2013). Using member checking promotes further discussion, which can become part of the ongoing narrative record and assist with the analysis process (Riessman, 2008). After sending the thematic analysis to the participants, Louise responded with:

> This is great! I thought you did a great job of blending everyone's experiences. It's crazy how familiar these thoughts were, I honestly didn't know what was something I said or someone else until I saw the name. Speaks volumes of how we're at different places yet feeling and experiencing the same things.

Furthermore, Lincoln and Guba (1985) posit that member checking is an essential technique for establishing credibility in qualitative research.

Data Analysis

For the current study, I perfomed a thematic analysis on the interviews (Riessman, 2008). In addition, an African American female who previously held a position as a Division I assistant track coach served as a "critical friend" throughout the analysis process to ensure that I did not allow my narrative to overtake the narratives of the participants (Eley, 2012). She helped me recognize the role of race in the construction of the participants' narratives that I might not recognize due to my privileged White position. Specifically, she called my attention to how strongly the *becoming a Black superwoman* coping strategy came out in our data and helped me understand that due to the systematic oppression that surrounds the participants, many of them feel that fighting the system is a lost cause; however, offering suggestions for changes that Black women can make is within their control and worth talking about. To further strengthen the rigor

of this study, my advisor served as a peer debriefer (Creswell, 2013). She read the interviews, and we discussed together whether the thematic analysis appeared to accurately represent participants' experiences. She believed that it did, so no changes were made to the themes or subthemes.

During this analysis, I was strictly concerned with the content of the interview, focusing on "what" was said rather than "how" or "for what purposes" (Riessman, 2008). I followed an inductive approach to ensure that the themes I found were constructed from the data (Patton, 2002). In order to accomplish a rigorous thematic analysis, I followed the six phases of thematic analysis as outlined by Braun and Clark (2006). Each of these phases is italicized in the description below.

First, I *became familiar with the data* by listening to each recorded interview while checking the transcript for any errors that may have occurred during transcription. Once the transcripts were corrected, I carefully read them as a way to begin to recognize patterns throughout the data. Then, I uploaded the interview transcripts into QSR International's NVivo 10 qualitative data analysis software to begin the coding process. When *creating initial codes*, I read through the interviews again, selected data extracts that I thought could be a part of a larger theme of the data, and created a named Node in NVivo for each of the codes. After completing the initial coding process, my data was divided into 217 codes. Next, I met with my critical friend to *find the themes within the codes*. We discussed the relationships that existed between the codes and created four primary themes and 15 subthemes. Once these candidate themes were created, my critical friend and I *checked the initial themes against the entire data set* by first reading through the selected data extracts that made up our themes and then, reading through the transcripts as a whole. Though the candidate themes and subthemes were supported by the data

extracts, they did not reflect the narratives as a whole. At that point, we returned to our codes and repeated the *find the themes within the codes and check the initial themes against the entire data set* phases of the analysis process. This time through, we once again created four themes and 15 subthemes, however, these were in line with the full data set. We followed this step by *defining and naming the final themes*. As suggested by Braun and Clark (2006), we chose names that would "be concise, punchy, and immediately give the reader a sense of what the theme is about" (p. 93). Lastly, I used the themes and data extracts as I *produced the final report.*

My final themes are presented in the format of a coach's journal. I believe this format allowed me to merge my world as a previous assistant coach with my current identity as a researcher, and also gave me the creative freedom I needed to excel as a writer. Additionally, the end product is a document that my target audience will be able to relate to and better understand, as several of the coaches described how they kept coaching journals to document their own experiences, while still maintaining academic rigor (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

Results

As stated above, the narrative results of the study are reported next in the form of a coach's journal. Each journal entry uses direct quotes from several of the participants with linking phrases inserted by me to create a single, co-constructed narrative. The direct quotes from participants are presented in italics, and the speaker is identified at the end of each quote. The journal begins with a brief introduction. Then, to indicate shifts within participants' narratives, the journal is divided into four sections which serve as major themes. These themes – labeled in the context of basketball - included: (a) *Pregame: Learning to coach;* (b) *First half: Experiences from the first 10 years;* (c) *Second half: Experiences from the last five years;* and (d) *Overtime: Thinking about the future*. Each of these themes includes several subthemes that were

constructed throughout the analysis process. Each journal entry is named after the subtheme that it represents.

Though the narrative is presented as a composite first person narrative in the form of the journal of one Black female assistant coach that includes her previous and current experiences, the *First half: Experiences from the first 10 years* was primarily constructed from the current experiences of Tiffany, Jordyn, Susie, and Lakeisha (who have been coaching for 10 years or less), with some reflections from Dominique, Kim, Rhea, and Louise (who have been coaching for more than 10 years). Similarly, the *Second half: Experiences from the last five years* was predominantly created from the current experiences of the coaches who have been coaching for more than 10 years. The other two sections were constructed from the narratives of all of the coaches.

A composite first person narrative is not simply a re-telling of the stories of the participants (Wertz, Nosek, McNiesh, & Marlow, 2011). Instead, it involves interpretation by the researcher that brings order and meaningfulness to the data (Kramp, 2004). Further, a composite first person narrative is a powerful method of presenting results as it allows the reader to personally relate to the themes; imagine the events occurring in the story in a personal way; and gain a new understanding of the phenomenon being investigated (Todres, 2008).

Introduction to the Journal

As I begin my fifteenth year of coaching at the collegiate level, I have decided to *try to journal my experience…to really just kind of write about how it made me feel* (Louise). While I will write about how I got my start in coaching and the ways I have developed as a coach in *Pregame: Learning to coach*, my primary focus will be on the ways my experiences have shaped my career. Recently, I have noticed that the way I think about my experiences has changed over

the years. It is like I have moved from offense to defense, which I am a fan of because I am a firm believer that offense wins games, but defense wins championships. Early in my career, which I discuss in *First half: Experiences from the first 10 years*, I believed that being a Black female was an advantage that allowed me to obtain jobs, or metaphorically speaking, win games. Within the last five years, written about in *Second half: Experiences from the last five years*, I have become aware of both the advantages and challenges of being a Black female assistant coach in NCAA Division I women's basketball. Namely, while I am getting jobs, they are not the jobs that I ultimately want. Therefore, I hope my metaphorical shift to defense allows me to win a personal championship and become a Division I head coach. I end this journal by talking about what my own future as a Black female head coach might look like, and by brainstorming ways to help more Black females become assistant and head coaches in women's basketball.

Though you will not see it in these excerpts, I also use this journal to further help me prepare to become a head coach. *So as I'm scouting, I'm looking at different things. If there is a play or something, I'm like, "Oh, that would fit into my system," and I will diagram the play out. If I hear a quote or something. I brainstorm what will my philosophy be and things like that. It's all written in my journal, so when it comes time for me to put my stuff together to be a head coach and do interviews, it will just be pulling my ideas and putting them together out of my journal [rather] than having to come up with some concept, it's all there* (Rhea).

Pregame: Learning to Coach

Getting into coaching. I was a great player in high school and college, and even though *my coaches used to ask me all the time, "Do you want to coach after this? What do you want to do?"* (Dominique), *at first, I was like, "nahhhhh" you know, "unt uh"* (Jordyn), *I don't want to be one of them. I don't want to do that"* (Rhea), but my coaches and others around me kept

encouraging me to think about it. Further, *I was influenced by [the coaches] where I played* (Susie). *I kind of gravitated toward coaches that made me feel…[important and valued], and then, once I realized that I could do the same thing [really impact somebody's life and change it for the better], it was like a no brainer to me* (Louise). Since *I was blessed…throughout high school and college [to have] had great coaches…I just [wanted] to give back in that sense* (Kim) and become a coach.

Once I finished playing at the collegiate level, one of the coaches that knew me as a player called me and *was like, "Hey, do you want to coach for me next year?"…I was at that point where I didn't know if I wanted to go play overseas because I knew I wanted to be in college [coaching]*. She was giving me *the opportunity to jump right into [coaching],* and *I've always been told it was hard to break in, so I just went for it* (Tiffany).

My development as a coach. Once I figured out I wanted to be a coach, I participated in the [NCAA/WBCA] *program, So You Want To Be a Coach, and I thought it was awesome* (Susie). *They had panels of speakers come in*, and *there were different topics that they talked about. The key that they really hammered home was networking,* and *what's it's like to not be entitled. There were people who came in and talked to* us who *maybe volunteered their time for 4 or 5 years before they got the opportunity to be paid.* It was great *that you got the chance to hear and learn from so many people* (Tiffany), *and it was more of an intimate setting* with them. The speakers *were in the room with you…not out on the court or in a big boardroom, so they were just in a room with you and maybe 50 other people. And again, what they talked about was just very real I guess you could say…*like *What head coaches look for. What not to do. How to...*The message was that a *lot of it is just basics, hardworking, loyalty. They preach on hardworking, loyalty, initiative, support, all those things* (Susie).

I will say I enjoy going to the Final Fours and the different coach's clinics or symposiums or different stuff like that where you can interact with other assistant coaches and … even some *head coaches and ADs* (Jordyn). In recent years, when I've gone, *I try to see what I can learn different, especially last year, they had such a variety of different things you can learn; whether it's in the office, something on the court, in the community, marketing, budget[ing], different things like that that I feel I can still listen and get better at* (Louise).

I have also been to [Felicia Hall Allen's] *A Step UP Symposium, it's an assistant coaches' symposium…It is very similar [to] and [has] almost the exact same structure as the Final Four, but it is so much smaller, and the reason that I love that is I know half of our business is about networking and getting to know your peers, your colleagues and all that good stuff. Sometimes things can seem a bit cliquish at the Final Four, and so if you don't already have your clique, it could be tough. But for me at the symposium, [A Step UP]…it doesn't seem that way at all, it's such a smaller scale that it forces you to be so much more intimate with people. So you can break off…and be in a group with a head coach from an ACC School, and here I am coaching at…a mid-major program.* You can have *these intimate conversations and pick their brain[s], and…last year, you know, there was an athletic director in the huddle, and you are learning…what they look for in not just head coaches, but assistant coaches as well and how to prepare you[rself]* (Jordyn). Felicia Hall Allen runs this symposium, and *I think she is trying to educate Black coaches in general, mostly females,…and get them prepared…It's not tailored to Black folks, but…a majority of her clients are usually Black people…so she does a good job educating them* (Rhea).

These conferences and symposiums have been great experiences and have provided me with a lot of information, but *more so than anything,* I have learned from *just taking my personal*

experience and…implementing it (Rhea). *It may be kind of lame and cliché, but I feel [that] every situation I've been in, I've been able to walk away with something* (Jordyn). *Not every situation is going to be all good, and that brings me to the point [that] sometimes you have to learn what not to do. So I try to take every situation as a learning experience, whether it be something that you learned that you are going to take with you as a head coach or something that you…say, I'm not going to do that with my team as a head coach* (Lakeisha). All of these experiences are what makes me confident. *I was afraid to do everything when I first started [coaching], you know, and every job presents new challenges. But it's funny because every single job before I get there I'm just, "This isn't going to work, I'm not going to know what I am doing, everyone is going to be so much more advanced in everything than I am," and now [with] every single job that I have taken, a little bit more of that fear goes away each time* (Susie).

First Half: Experiences from the First 10 Years

I am needed because I am a Black female, and that's a good thing. *Because women's basketball is primarily young Black females, I think a lot of head coaches are looking for that same, they are looking for young, Black females* (Jordyn). *I'm not going to lie; I have probably gotten most of my jobs because I am a Black female. I mean…everybody wants a Black female on staff. Coming in…everybody is like…"Oh, you'll be great, you're a Black female…" You know what, now that I think about it, being a Black female definitely got my foot in the door, and it's kept my foot in the door* (Rhea) *because [having a Black female] is kind of a requirement for every staff I guess you could say, so that's a plus* (Susie). There needs to be *someone on your staff to be able to relate to the kids* and their families. *There is always a spot on someone's staff…and my spot was the last spot to fill, and you need [an African American], and I think*

that's an advantage sometimes (Tiffany). *If you are good at what you do, [being a Black female] basically assures you a job, and that's a good thing* (Susie).

I am the only Black female on staff, and that's just how it is. *One big challenge [is] knowing that there are not multiple African Americans on staffs typically. You know that you are going to be in a dog fight for a position when it comes down to it…*so *when you are applying for a job, the first thing you do is look and see* if *they have a minority on staff and if they don't, now, it's like, "Yeah, I can get that job." It gives you more confidence that you can get that job, but it is a double-edged sword. If you are looking on a staff, and it is something that you really, really want, and you know you are qualified for it, but they already have a minority on the staff…it makes it a little bit difficult…I've been coaching right at 10 years, and I've yet to be on a staff with more than one African American...Even while playing, I never played under a staff with more than one African American...So it's to be expected. So I don't know if I can say that's a challenge because it's something that is expected* (Lakeisha). *It's been the norm for so long* (Susie).

All about recruiting. My primary role is recruiting. *I'm a recruiting coordinator, so I do all of the organization as far as tell[ing] our staff where we need to be, who we need to be watching. I read; I have to know all the kids in our area…Just really, if my boss is like, "Hey, have you heard of this kid at such-and-such school?", that I* know enough *to be able to tell her "Yes, she is this, this and this."* It's *kind of like I'm a recruiting database myself and* have to be *able to shoot all of that off. [Recruiting] is the lifeline of [a] program, so I would say that's probably 80% of what I do. I mean I do scouting as well, but it is mainly the recruiting component. Talking to coaches, talking to kids, making sure mail outs are going out,* and *anything that deals with that* (Tiffany).

I know that *the Black assistant coach is the one that is supposed to get the kids, they are not always expected to come on and just be great X's and O's gurus…As a Black female coach, we are expected to be able to go out and recruit, and get some players…You better be able to do it...If you can't recruit, you are probably not going to have a good chance of staying on… Especially if you go on staff where…you are the one expected to do it, and you're not getting it done; now, they have to get somebody in there who can get the job done…I'm a strong recruiter, so you know, I think it is a plus when you are a strong recruiter and you can add that tag to your name, it gives you another leg up when it comes down to going out for a job* (Lakeisha).

If I work hard, good things will happen for me. *I try my best to take a "this is the stereotype, but I'm like blowing it out of the water" type of approach…I want to be [in a position that] my boss can't do without me, period. It doesn't matter* (Susie). I think "*I'm just going to do my best, do whatever I have to"…and [I] just try to…do [my] best, so ultimately, the only thing that is thought about is, "You know what, [she] was a good hire." Regardless of race, gender, whatever. "She works her butt off; she works hard; she knows what she's doing. She's 2 feet in; she's loyal." So…I'd like to think that if I was a White male, I would still be working as hard as I am today. It doesn't even matter, so...you just embrace [it], learn,* and*...I think one of my main things is*...even though *I make mistakes every single day…I just try not to make the same ones twice* (Jordyn).

I hope once again…it's one of those situations where…I'm going to work my tail off, I'm going to work as hard as I can, I'm going to do the best that I can do and hopefully that will speak for itself (Jordyn). *I'm very…conscious of what I wear in my game attire,* and *keep it professional* (Kim). I *try to do my networking and keep up with people…I think people…that I've worked with, those that I've worked for…have a relatively…high regard for me. And you know, if*

somebody else were to ask about me, I hope that they would have nothing but positive things to say...I hope that one day, like I said, that all of my hard work will show for itself and pay off … regardless of race, gender and everything else…I think it will get to a point where…it will just be a no brainer that...you know what I mean, "Oh, clearly she's qualified (for a head coaching position)*, let's go"* (Jordyn).

I am the mediator. It is important for me to be someone that my players can relate to and talk to about issues that may be bothering them. *A couple of kids…have needed to go talk to someone but made the comment they didn't feel comfortable talking to a Caucasian because they didn't feel like they could relate to them in a lot of things, so they feel more comfortable coming to me or some other African American* (Kim). *I think that's why it's important to have someone on your staff that either relates racially, age-wise, someone that can bridge the gap, because when things like [the athletic department disregarding racial concerns] happen, I understand. They could have tried to go talk to another staff and they would be like, "What, huh? Okay."...and it wouldn't have been as big of a deal, and [the staff] wouldn't understand how it hurts.*

There was one instance that I can think of last year. It was Martin Luther King Day and we had a game on that day and during the game, there was *promotion stuff … for the veterans. They didn't even acknowledge what day it was, and that threw me for a whirlwind, and I knew it did for our kids...It didn't even cross our staff's minds and our game promotion people didn't even realize that [it] was a big deal, but I think it was very offensive...like I know my parents said something about it. Other people in the stands kind of said something about it too, like "Why would you do that today?" and then, I asked [the game promotion people] for a promotion or some kind of acknowledgment.*

That's one instance that I know, and even though I [brought] it up, [the staff and administrators didn't] get it per se. It's almost like, "I don't know how that could be offensive." It's almost like if it doesn't affect you personally, it's…hard to understand how that could have hurt…I get it, because I'm a minority person working with a majority staff…in a majority department so I understood why the majority was confused by it being offensive, but *parents and people in the stands and our kids don't necessarily always understand the way I would, I guess.*

I tried to talk to [the players] about the fact that *ignorance isn't necessarily trying to harm…*that the oversight *wasn't intentional and [that] it may feel like it was, but I guarantee that it wasn't. So for [the players to] just try to put [themselves] in [the staff's] shoes for a second. It wasn't like they weren't honoring good people that day. You know, that day they were honoring people who sacrificed for our country, who do all these different things and that [the staff] felt like [what] they were doing was still good...I hope that got across, but kids get upset about the littlest things. That could have just added fuel to some other fire, but I think the point got across. I hope it did* (Tiffany).

Second Half: Experiences from the Last Five Years

Take care of yourself because others may not. I always felt safe in my position because I felt needed, worked hard, and had a great relationship with my boss, but I learned that sometimes that is not enough. *A head coach that I worked for…for 3 years and I did everything for our program, and not only was I her assistant, we were friends, and we did everything together…like her network became mine instantly…And when I was fired...first of all it was without cause. We were in the same room. She didn't speak to me; she didn't look at me, like nothing. I was treated like I had slept with a player or had some big scandal...And, like this is someone who was my professional mentor, who could have easily said, "Okay, we are in the 3rd*

year of a 4 year contract. We are not winning. Like I've got to make a change, you can get a job. This is what's going to happen," as my friend. Or, once you've done all this, like make a call to someone to help me get a new job *(Dominique), but [she] didn't help me, [she] didn't answer [her] phone, [she] didn't answer my text messages, [she] didn't make a comment to the paper,* there was *just [the] headline, "Long time assistant gets fired"... No explanation. No comment from [her]. The paper [called] me, and I handled it the best way I could. You know, "It's time for a change, thank you [head coach], thank you [school] for all of my experiences. I am really looking forward to my next opportunity, blah, blah, blah." But I didn't realize how negative [getting fired*] *would have been, like if [she] would have simply said, "...I wanted to make some changes." 'Cuz everyone was like, "What did she do? She has been there for [3] years; they have had all of this success. They have had top recruiting classes. What the hell did she do? What did she do?" Well, I didn't do anything...I gave all I had to somebody that I knew and I trusted and loved and got screwed in the end* (Rhea).

Whenever you go to conferences, you learn you have to be loyal to your head coach… but you can't forget about you in the process (Dominique). *You have to also be for yourself* (Louise). *I will tell you that I haven't had that mentality the whole time...It has definitely developed over these last 2 or 3 years* (Rhea).

I am in a box. Early in my career, I recognized that I got jobs and certain positions because I am an African American female, but *I [had] no problem with it because I [understood] that game and [knew] that you make a name in recruiting. So when I got in, after I got in with [the first head coach], it was like, "You are going to get out of JUCO by proving that you can recruit. Right now, no one is going to care if you can coach." You know...Now, I was fortunate enough that he let me coach, but I knew what the bread and butter was… [A]t the time I didn't*

have the desire…to coach Division I...so it took me 4 years… All the fears that I had came true on my first Division I job. My job was to be the recruiting coordinator. *And we didn't really have that title in JUCO… I was like, "Okay, there's a title for that; this is always what I've done." So then if we are being honest, I was the token Black female type thing. And that's [the] role, that's what you are going to do. So now, I leave from JUCO, and it is the first year of coaching, you know what it is, you know you gotta get players. [T]here is turnover every year, and that was it. I didn't think anything of it. I went to Division I and then, I am hungry* and *I had new challenges,* so I was just going with the work, *but it wasn't until I was like Whoa, really stepping out, I'm in a box, as a Black female, that's what they see, and so it was like, "hmmmm, ok." I didn't have any scouts at the DI job. I didn't have any [basketball] responsibilities. It was a crazy dynamic. It was crazy all around…And so my next job when I left and went to [a new school]. The things that when I took the job, [I said,] "I want to do scouts…I want to have more of a role on the basketball side of things."…I never lose sight of what it is that got me here. I was gonna recruit, I've got to recruit. I have to do that, but it was important that I start adding different things in. Again, as an African American female you get stuck in this box of just being able to recruit, and that's all you are, all you are…And it's…still not as easy as you know, saying, "Okay, like yeah, so now I have scouts; and I coach posts; and I do this," but at the end of the day if you don't have a head coach that's willing to actually let you do more that is visibly seen on the floor during the games, then, you are still that token Black female; and you're a recruiter; and that's what it is. That's kind of discouraging* (Kim).

Not all Black females have the personality to be able to be the recruiter that [a program] want[s]. [The] assumption is going to come in, and then, [they're] gonna kind of put us, like all Black females, in this box, and this is all you have to be. And I think I do have friends that are

Black females that are recruiting coordinators that don't have the personality for it…like, you know, either they are still learning how to do it, or they're unsure of themselves because it's not a natural fit, and I think that's the hard part, people just assuming that it's supposed to be a natural fit because [a black female is] supposed to be XYZ, and [they're] not. And … just because I am, doesn't meant that [another Black female is] even though we may look the same… I think so many of them get out (of coaching) *because they do feel pigeonholed.* They don't see that there is *opportunity for growth.* (Louise).

I want different responsibilities. *In order to move outside this box, I've been thinking that I [would like to] relinquish that role* (recruiting coordinator)… and *have more physical, vocal control as far as on the court, X's and O's* (Kim). Ideally, I want *the opportunity to grow, to stretch [myself] a little bit. [I] want to [have] some comfort zones as well so that [I] can become a master of expertise in some form or another. You know, [I] just want to have a lot of stuff that you collaborate on. Like recruiting is something that you always collaborate on. A position breakdown…*and *skill development [are areas] where you can grow because you gotta do some [individual] sessions…and it allows you to kind of go borrow, because that's how we do in this business, borrow and recycle information and then kind of like the X and O stuff. You learn from it. So ideally you want a hand in everything* (Dominique).

Honestly, I want *probably a little less recruiting* and more time to spend with the student-athletes *helping develop them as people and players…and helping them develop and cope better with things.* I no longer want to simply mediate; instead, I want to help them grow…I would also like *a little bit more active role in the budget and other side of things* (Louise). I would really just like *more balanced involvement* (Rhea).

You have to prove yourself to be taken seriously. *Another thing is having to prove your worth. You know, I am a coach. I like basketball. If I wanted to recruit, I could do that for a business or administration or admissions at a college. Recruiting can be anything. The basketball part is what has me here, not the recruiting, if that makes sense. Yeah, that has probably been the biggest challenge here of [what] has happened. You have to prove yourself over, over, and over, again. Like your resume doesn't have anything to do* with it, *like [it] doesn't even come to play. At least [in] this current situation, my resume…has not come into play. It looks good for them to hire me because of my resume, but they don't care. It's like, "You're a Black female with a really good resume, but we are not even going to acknowledge [the] fact that you have actually done this stuff." It's like I just made this resume up. It's just like, "Yeah, [the fans] are going to think we are great,* because *we hired* her…" *and.that pisses me off too. [The rest of the staff members] are so quick to say, "Oh yeah, she played at [a BCS school], awesome, was at [another BCS school] for 5 years," but when we are behind closed doors in a meeting, it just weird…*because they *don't treat me that way* like I have all of that experience (Rhea).

I think the part that has been probably one of the hardest to shake as a Black female is [that] I don't know if people take you…seriously sometimes when you say, "I want to make this adjustment in this game, or I have this suggestion." You're almost looked at like, "Is this a legitimate suggestion, or is this you heard somebody else say it, and you said it first?" So that part has been tricky just because [in] my current situation, she (the coach) *listens to me, but I don't feel that same respect about X's and O's if you will. I think I get a lot of leeway for…working with my position players and trying to develop them individually, but in terms of strategy in the game…*I don't get the same respect. *I have done a better job of trying to be*

extremely thorough in scouts, so when I do offer information…it is obvious that I am not just pulling [it] out of a hat suggesting something. I have to convince them that suggestions are *something that I have prepared for, that I have seen enough film...this is the 5th university that I have worked at, all Division I level, and this is probably the second one that I felt like I could have somewhat of a voice with X's and O's. But I think that…there's probably nothing more deflating than being assigned a scout, knowing that you have watched X amount of hours of film, and [upon giving] a simple suggestion, no one wants to take you serious[ly]* (Louise).

I am prepared to be a head coach, but I might not get that opportunity. *I'm ready to be a head coach* (Rhea), but *generally what you see on staffs* (at the BCS level) *are Caucasian male or female at the head, but Black assistants* (Dominique). *It's almost like we're good enough to be assistants, but we're not good enough to be head coaches, "You know, you're good at this, but we don't want you to...you can't run it. You can't run this whole thing"…How much sense does that make* (Rhea)*?* I want it to be different.

I would like my experiences to be about, we get started at the same time, both got 15 years in, we are gonna be interviewed for a coaching job in the Spring, and you (White female) will probably get it over me, like more times than not. As a Black female it gets so frustrating to think that you have to do things 15, 15 to maybe 20 years unless you have the name of being a former all everything player to get an opportunity to move on, to move up, and not even just as a head coach, but even moving from a mid-major to a high-major or something, you have to do these extravagant things, and I think that part gets frustrating. At what point, if we have the same thing on paper, is that enough? And why do I need 3 more extra years of experience compared to you, and I don't know, I don't have an answer, but I think that's one of the things that I've noticed that does kind of get frustrating where literally they tell me this has been the science of

preparing myself for the opportunity and to feel like it's not going to be enough, I'm just gonna have to, I can be, an assistant for 20 years, and at 15 after this season, who knows, but it's rarely occurred when someone else of another race, gender had to be an assistant this long until they have an opportunity. I don't know. That's just me rambling. It's probably one of my biggest frustrations. I really thought a) I would be a head coach by now. I really do feel like I've done enough professionally, personally to kind of put me in that situation, and it's still not enough. I think it gets very taxing; it just gets taxing…

I think it's so frustrating for somebody like myself or my peers who have prepared for almost every aspect of the job, and for those experiences not to be enough because you don't have a fancy name behind you or something like that, I think, I don't know how you fix it 'cuz I know people want to go where they want, they want to win the interviews, or want things like that, but I think that's why it's getting even more and more difficult to keep coaches, regardless of race and gender when that next tier of us that really want to be head coaches have like when is your opportunity going to come or waiting for a lucky break, or you can just kind of just walk from behind the air to the coaching box or something like that it just…just saying that it's deflating is giving yourself a compliment because it's more than that, but I don't know how you fix it, how you navigate around it, but it is definitely discouraging in terms of keeping quality coaches. I think it's, women's basketball, the generations before, before me, have done a great job of paving the way where you can actually make a living financially off of it and raise a family, so a lot of people are seeing it as an opportunity to just come in and see more about the money and the easy life that it is than about the impact. I think that's the hard part, people that do it for the wrong reasons that get the opportunities that you have been working for (Louise).

A lot of times, I feel like getting a head coaching job will only happen if my *agent is able to have a better relationship with this AD than others* (Kim), and I am *going to have to be lucky, patient, and be at the right place at the right time* (Lakeisha).

Dealing with all of this. Right now, while I do some things that help me, I am not sure that I handle not being taken seriously or being passed over for jobs very well all of the time. One helpful thing that I do is pray about things. Like when I got fired, I knew that it *[was] what I prayed for. I didn't pray to get fired, but I prayed for a way out. So I can't be mad about it* (Rhea). Another thing I do that helps is talking to other coaches and people in my life that I respect. I just try to *use my little network of people…to keep me sane* (Louise).

I used to make jokes about everything, but *I'm over making jokes about it; it's really not that funny to me anymore. A few years ago, it was like, "ha," but now, it's like really, "what the hell?"* (Louise). And when other members of my staff or coaches and administrators outside of women's basketball are disrespectful, *I've learned…not to say [that something bothered me] as much if it bothered me because people think that it's just another way for either making excuses or complaining…It's like [I] don't get to be bothered*," (Louise), so *I shut down…But I've learned that's not the best way to handle it. I'm getting better, just takes a little more energy and letting people know you are there*...(Rhea).

Overtime: Thinking about the Future

Being a Black female head coach. *I could be a head coach (Dominique),* but there are *so many factors that go into being a head coach, it's not that simple…you gotta find the right place and find the right staff* (administrators and assistant coaches), *and I think everything else would work itself out, but those are two hard obstacles* (Susie). We have to *make sure we're getting the right jobs that…we can be successful in. Because everybody wants to be a head*

coach, not everybody, but everybody wants to be a head coach at a larger school, and we don't have that much leeway (Rhea). *African American coaches, females, a lot of the time don't get leeway that Caucasian males and women get, so the pressure is on that you have to go and you have to do well and you have to represent well because you are getting watched, and it's 9 to 5* (Kim).

Then, there is even more pressure because *we still have to be overly qualified in some cases because if you don't then people are looking at you like, you only got the job 'cuz you're Black and you're female. And I think in the of case working for [a Black female head coach], it was just a terrible demise at the, probably after the first year, it was all just downhill, nosedive of her just being extra paranoid of, "People don't think I'm qualified, people don't think." I mean this is daily conversations her and I would have about her not feeling like, feeling respected, her not feeling like they acted like she deserved to get this opportunity to be the head coach.* They thought *the White male at the time, he's the one that's coaching the team, he's the one that's successful, so it was like this internal battle that she was having with herself [and] not having enough confidence that [she] really have prepared for this…I think affirmative action is meant to help and give you the opportunities, but it's just it incites this level of paranoia that now, people are just looking at me because I am just Black and nothing else. And I think for me, I think it goes back to if I go out of my way to make myself qualified, this is why I invest so much and put my own money in personal/professional development, so they can see that I might have gotten the opportunity to be interviewed, but that's not why I got the job. I am very qualified, and here is my resume. So that's how I feel, and she probably taught me that by watching her be so unsuccessful and mentally it took a toll, I mean it was daily, everyday feeling paranoid about*

people not, people treating her like she just got it, only because she was a Black female. They needed to hire a Black female (Louise).

Getting more Black females into coaching positions. When I think about ways to increase the number of Black female coaches in NCAA Division I women's basketball, *I don't know if there is any one thing. I don't think there is a cure all. Like you would be asking for too much. You would be asking for world peace* (Dominique). But there are some things that can be done. The NCAA could provide *more workshops or better advertising for workshops or allow more spots* (Susie), or since *I'm already in the business, there being more resources maybe provided to minorities to help prepare them to be head coaches….so maybe if they are getting that within their job, maybe some type of job advance that could, I mean you see it in the teachers within the school system. They have their hours that they have to get to retain their teaching certificate, so maybe if there was something like that in place* (Tiffany).

Head coaches and administrators also play a role in increasing the numbers of Black female coaches. *If you have a coach that is willing to allow you to get outside and grow you as a coach, then that makes a lot of difference* (Kim). *Administrators have to just give [Black female coaches] the opportunity… and give them the time to recruit, implement their staff, get the right crew and kind of change that culture. I think that's an important thing for them to be able to have...you know. Yeah, you let them in the door, but you gotta let them do some things* (Jordyn).

I think some of it we have to do ourselves too (Louise). It starts as a player. *Had I not, when I was in college, been a respectful person on and off the court and handled my business, then I wouldn't have had this opportunity* (Kim). *Then, also as a Black female, take advantage of everything. Like if they put you in a situation where you don't feel comfortable, make the most of that situation. Like I've been places before and seen other coaches do this. Like they want to*

pigeonhole you as a recruiter, well you make sure you meet everybody you can meet out there, meet ADs, meet senior women's executives, meet other coaches. I learned that here too, like you don't want me doing scouting reports, guess what I'm going to watch the film on every opponent anyway, and then, when we get ready to play, I've got some input. I'm not gonna to sit here like, "Well you didn't want me to do my scouting report, so what do I do now?" (Rhea). Lastly, *we just have to support one another better…Because I think a lot of situations we don't help each other, we just don't. I mean when jobs and stuff become available we don't recommend each other, like we don't recycle each other* (Dominique). *You can't be one of the few that do make it and not give back in a sense. I'm not saying you have to then go hire a Black female assistant, whatever, but I think you do have a responsibility to mentor in your own way. Whether it's females or just kind of develop a relationship that way, I think that opportunity to really mentor and give back, and I am not saying you're gonna speak at the Final Four, that's definitely great, people can see you in a larger scale, but really taking your time and identifying that next group of Black female coaches that could be where you are and help them make that transition* (Louise).

Discussion

This study presents a co-constructed narrative in the form of a coach's journal and serves to illuminate the varied experiences of eight Black female assistant coaches in NCAA Division I women's basketball. The results of the current study can help sport psychology researchers to better understand not only the lived experiences of Black female coaches, but also the social inequities and power dynamics within NCAA Division I women's basketball. Throughout this discussion section, I expand on the knowledge that can be gained from the participants'

narratives by providing answers to each of the research questions and relating the current study's results to previous literature.

Research Questions #1 and #2: What are the participants' primary roles on their current staffs, and in what ways has a Black female identity –in whatever ways participants define this - impacted their experiences as an assistant coach? The coaching roles assigned to Black female assistant coaches and the experiences of these coaches based on their Black female identity are inextricably intertwined throughout the narratives. These research questions will thus be discussed in tandem. As the participants described their entry into coaching, it is unsurprising that their identity as a Black female was implicated. Based on the narratives of the participants in this study, it seems that the path to NCAA Division I coaching for Black females begins with their being high caliber basketball players. All of the participants were offered scholarships to play at Division I schools. Furthermore, all played Division I women's basketball, except Dominique, who played at the NCAA Division II level. It is currently unknown whether it is an unwritten requirement that Black females be former high-level players, and as such whether this could be a source of gendered racism that limits potential coaches from entering the profession.

In addition to the shared characteristic of being high level players, most of the participants in this study were encouraged to go into coaching by their own coaches, as was also found by Borland and Bruening (2010). Participants "were influenced by [the coaches] where [they] played" (Susie), and this made them realize the type of influence that they could have on the lives of young people as women who identify as Black or African American. Kim explicitly expressed that "[she] just [wanted] to give back in that sense." Further, the participants noted the positive impact of being coached by Black females. Susie was first coached by a Black female assistant coach in college, and she described her experience by saying:

> I just never thought of it like I could be them [a coach] until I saw her. And that was a big deal, and even what she is doing now, being at [BCS school], but she was the first one I ever looked at that I could be like.

Not only do these findings highlight the importance of current coaches serving as mentors to Black student-athletes, but they also speak to the need to increase the number of Black female coaches within this context so that student-athletes can have more visible role models (LaVoi & Dutove, 2012).

Once they became coaches, participants noted that they were asked to fill a variety of roles on coaching staffs, but the participants explicitly stated that they were most often assigned roles as recruiters and post or guard skill developers. These role assignments are in line with the perception that Black female assistant coaches are needed to develop relationships with Black student-athletes and recruits, while also reinforcing the coaches' statuses as former Division I caliber basketball players. These findings mirror Cunningham's (2010) conclusion that Black male coaches are valued more for their ability to recruit than for their ability as a skills or strategies coach, and support Borland and Bruening's (2010) assertion that Black women in coaching felt that others perceived them as only being useful as a student athlete or as a recruiter. Additionally, the results from this study extend the stacking and positional segregation research that typically describes the tendency for Black male athletes to be "stacked" into positions that only require physical gifts and not intelligence (Best, 1987; Loy & McElvogue, 1970; Smith & Leonard, 1997). This study suggests that Black female assistant coaches are also "stacked" into recruiting positions or positions that require them to use their athletic skills rather than their decision-making skills.

A focus on recruiting and skill development limits the time that Black female assistant coaches can devote to developing game strategy knowledge and the other essential administrative skills (e.g. game scheduling and managing a budget) that, according to the participants, are necessary to becoming a head coach. While little research has been conducted about the professional development of NCAA Division I coaches, Black female coaches, and assistant coaches, the results of the current study are similar to the findings from previous coach development research (conducted with groups of coaches outside of the current target population). Similar to the coaches in previous studies, the participants in this study gained coaching knowledge primarily from informal learning situations (e.g. daily experiences) and nonformal ones (e.g. conferences, workshops, and symposiums), but believed that informal learning situations were the most effective form of coach development (Cushion et al., 2010); Rhea expressed that she has primarily learned from "taking [her] personal experience and implementing it." As direct experience is seen as the most effective means of learning, it is detrimental for Black female coaches to be assigned recruiting roles and thereby have limited opportunities to develop hands-on expertise in areas outside of recruiting. Furthermore, experience is a source of coaching efficacy information, where coaching efficacy is defined as coaches' beliefs in their ability to impact the development of their athletes inside and outside of sport (Feltz, Chase, Moritz, & Sullivan, 1999). Therefore, in addition to hindering Black female coaches' opportunities to develop new skills, a lack of experience can negatively affect coaching efficacy. The narratives from the participants in the current study support this idea. When I asked Susie what contributed to her confidence, she simply answered with, "Experience."

Interestingly, participants with less than 10 years of coaching experience embraced their roles as recruiters and viewed recruiting as a way to advance in their careers. In contrast, the

participants with more than 10 years of coaching experience were more likely to describe this tendency as a negative because being "pigeonholed" as a recruiter did not allow them the opportunity to grow as coaches. Borland and Bruening (2010) suggest that Black females remain in recruiting roles because they have been socialized to believe that they can only exist within sport if they fulfill specified roles (Coakley, 2009). This finding is clearly intimated by participants of this study in their early years of coaching through sentiments such as "As a Black female coach, we are expected to be able to go out and recruit… if you can't recruit, you are probably not going to have a good chance of staying on" (Lakeisha). The less experienced coaches perceive that their value as a coach is rooted in their ability to recruit. However, through the narratives of the more experienced coaches, this study suggests that there are factors, in addition to socialization, that influence the roles that Black female coaches fill. When considering the more experienced coaches, there is a notable shift from the idea that as a Black female coach their role is to recruit to the sentiment that "I am a coach… the basketball part is what has me here, not the recruiting" (Rhea). The more experienced coaches express desires to "have a hand in everything" (Dominique), and they actively seek positions where they "have more of a role on the basketball side of things" (Kim). Ultimately, these coaches show that though they may be influenced by the discourse of "Black female assistant coach equals recruiter," they can break from it and create their own truth for what it means to be a Black female assistant coach in NCAA Division I women's basketball. This view of identity aligns with Helm's (1990) Womanist identity model.

The Womanist identity model is a model of gender-related identity development, but it can be applied to women across social identity groups (Ossana, Helms, & Leonard, 1992). Thus, Moradi (2005) asserts that using this model "has the potential to move beyond its original focus

on a single aspect of identity (i.e. gender) to capture the diversity and complexity of women's self-concepts as shaped by multiple personal and group identities" (p. 226). This model is comprised of four stages that Helms (1990) labeled Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization (Parks, Carter, & Gushue, 1996). As a woman progresses through the stages, she is moving from passively accepting the external definitions of what it means to be a woman, and in the case of this study, a Black woman, and moving to the active process of creating one's own definition of womanhood (Carter & Parks, 1996). Though the term stage suggests a linear model, it is important to note that identity development processes are dynamic and fluid, and individuals may possess multiple identity development attitudes simultaneously. Ossana et al. (1992), Carter and Parks (1996), and Moradi (2005) have all outlined the stages of the womanist identity development model, and each of these stages will be discussed below.

The women in the Preencounter stage conform to society's beliefs about gender, accept traditional gender roles without question, and behave in ways that undervalue women and benefit men. The women in this stage are also blind to societal oppression against women. In this study, the Black female assistant coaches who more fully accept their position as recruiters because it is what the culture dictates, could be thought to be acting in accordance with women in this stage. Additionally, statements that the underrepresentation of Black females on the coaching staffs is "to be expected" (Lakeisha) and that "[i]t's been the norm for so long" (Susie) further suggest that some of the internalized 'truths' of the participants who are early in their careers are representative of women in the Preencounter stage. Movement to the Encounter stage occurs as a woman comes into contact with new information and/or experiences that challenge her current worldview by calling her attention to the unjustness of society against women or increases the importance of her womanhood. During this stage, women begin to question societal norms and

find new ways to view the roles men and women play in society. The third stage of the Womanist identity model, Immersion-Emersion, consists of two phases. Women in the first phase of Immersion-Emersion actively reject the male-constructed definitions of gender and societal norms and begin to romanticize the female gender. During the second phase of Immersion-Emersion, women search for a positive model of womanhood and seek out strong interpersonal relationships with other women. In the culminating stage of the Womanist identity model, Internalization, women develop "a positive definition of womanhood based on personal attributes, views other women and their shared experiences as a source of information concerning the role of women, but refuse to be bound by external definitions of womanhood" (Ossana et al., 1992, p. 403). The coaches in this study who are later in their careers seem to align more closely with the Encounter and Internalization stages as they express recognition that as "an African American female you get stuck in this box… that you are still that token Black female" and they want to "move outside that box" and move into roles that are not typically slated for Black women. Moreover, there is recognition and frustration at the fact that they are perceived as "not good enough to be head coaches" because they are Black females (Rhea). Finally, although they know that the people in power have this perception, the participants nevertheless believe that they "can be a head coach" and that Black female head coaches can have success (Dominique).

Further, the Womanist identity model suggests that as a Black woman encounters new experiences that call her attention to injustice in society against Black women and challenge her current worldview, she progresses from the preencounter stage to the later stages. This movement allows her to be more critical of the oppressive system that she is in, and she begins to create her own meaning regarding her identity as a Black woman. The coaches with more than

10 years of experience- Rhea, Dominique, Kim, and Louise- all spoke of an event or a series of events in which they were fired or stripped of non-recruiting responsibilities. These experiences caused them to reevaluate their position within women's basketball as well as what it means to be a Black female assistant coach. As a result, the participants became more aware of the multiple oppressions (e.g. being pigeonholed, having limited opportunities for advancement, and feeling undervalued) that they face, and the negative effects that these oppressions can have on their careers.

Unjust hiring practices at the institutional level represent another way the Black female identity impacts the experiences of Black female assistant coaches. Many of the participants expressed a belief that typically, there could only be one Black female per staff. The participants stated that if they were interested in a position on a staff that did not already have a Black woman, they felt confident in their prospects. Conversely, if a Black woman was already on staff, the participants stated that they would often be hesitant about applying. In the 2014-2015 season, 30% of NCAA Division I women's basketball assistant coaches were Black females (NCAA, 2016). Each staff is allowed three assistants. These numbers indicate that, based on percentages, the participants' assumptions that there is usually only one Black female per staff is supported. This hiring tendency limits job opportunities for Black female coaches. Furthermore, this form of oppression results in Black women competing against one another for a limited number of positions. It is unsurprising then that according to several of the participants, Black women do not openly share information or form networks like men in the "Good Ole Boys" club do. One explanation for this could be the inherent competition for positions that has developed due to the oppressive hiring practices currently in place. Further research on the development of

personal networks in NCAA Division I coaching is warranted to better understand the potential benefits and consequences of these networks for Black female coaches (Ibarra, 1995).

Identity further affects experience as previous research has found that Black female coaches will often accept positions even if they believe that they are only being hired because of their race (Borland & Bruening, 2010). Coaches in the current study admitted that they too had been hired because of their race and gender, and they credit their being a Black female for "getting their foot in the door" of NCAA Division I women's basketball and keeping it there (Rhea). Though many of the participants recognized this hiring practice as an advantage, the limited hiring of Black female assistant coaches can also lead to tokenism.

While Borland and Bruening (2010) found that the participants in their study often felt like "tokens" due to the "designated recruiter" perception, the participants in the current study cited feeling like a "token" because the majority of the players they were coaching were Black. As a result, the coaches felt that they were only needed when the situation involved a Black student-athlete (e.g. recruiting visits, meeting with the head coach, or conversations about sensitive racial topics). Researchers have repeatedly revealed the undervaluation of female coaches at the organizational level, and based on these results, it seems that Black female coaches are no exception to this type of oppression. Additionally, tokens are considered "representatives of their category, as symbols rather than individuals" (Kanter, 1977, p. 208). As such, the participants perceived that they were expected to be able to develop relationships with all Black student-athletes and their families. Furthermore, many of the participants in this study explained that there is a great deal of pressure on Black female head coaches to perform well in order to ensure that other Black female coaches will receive opportunities in the future. The participants in the current study admitted that feeling like a "token" led to frustration, paranoia,

and increased pressure. Tokenism has also been found to lead to higher levels of depression and anxiety (Jackson, Thoits, & Taylor, 1995).

Research Question #3: In what ways do Black female assistant coaches cope with gendered racism? The answers to the first two research questions identified the multiple oppressions experienced by participants based on their Black female identity. Answering how participants have coped with these multiple oppressions further expands the literature. Since no studies currently exist within sport psychology or coach education research that address the means by which Black female coaches cope with oppression, the results from this study add new insights to these fields while mirroring the findings of psychology research. Shorter-Gooden (2006) found that Black women often use internal resources, which are defined as belief systems that shape how a woman perceives herself and her place in the world, to cope with racism and sexism. One internal resource that the participants in the current study used as a way to cope with oppression was resting on faith (i.e. relying on prayer). Rhea and Dominique both felt that getting fired was an answer to their prayers. Rhea stated, "This is what I prayed for, I didn't pray to get fired, but I prayed for a way out. So I can't be mad about it." Role flexing (i.e. changing behaviors to fit in with the dominant group) is an additional coping strategy that has been used by participants in previous research as well as by participants in the current study. Several of the participants mentioned that they role flexed by making sure that they were dressed professionally and acted professionally at all times. Kim expressed being "very conscious of [her] dress" and being on guard about the things that she says and how she says them. Further, participants in the current study mentioned relying on social support to cope with gendered racism by reaching out to other collegiate coaches, family members, and others who they respected outside of sport. Relying on social support is a strategy that has appeared in previous studies about how

participants cope with racism, sexism, and gendered racism (Lewis et al., 2013; Shorter-Gooden, 2004).

When coping with gendered racism, Lewis and colleagues (2013) found that *using one's voice as power* (i.e., speaking up to address an oppressive situation and regain power) was a resistance coping strategy used by the participants in their study. In Tiffany's narrative about Martin Luther King Jr. Day, she directly challenged the staff and administrators who failed to recognize the significance of the day, but she downplayed the severity of the oppressive experience when she was discussing the situation with the student-athletes. Avoiding oppressive experiences and downplaying their severity has been cited as a self-protective coping strategy in previous research, and this mechanism was also used by the participants in this study (Lewis, et al., 2013). Many of the participants believed that gendered racism just "is what it is" and "expected." They would not confront their oppressors because it would only reflect negatively on them. Louise shared, "I've learned now probably not to say [that something bothered me]…because people think that it's just another way for either making excuses or complaining…It's like you don't get to be bothered." A second self-protective coping strategy, and the coping strategy that was used most frequently by the participants in the current study, is the *becoming a Black superwoman* strategy (i.e. being strong and self-reliant and taking on a multitude of responsibilities) that emerged from Lewis and peers (2013). This strategy is seen throughout the *If I work hard, good things will happen for me* and *I want different responsibilities* journal entries. While coping strategies are intended to reduce the stress of gendered racism, self-protective strategies such as downplaying the severity of and avoiding oppressive experiences and becoming a Black superwoman, can lead to heightened distress (Lewis et al.; Thomas et al., 2008).

As evidenced throughout this discussion, gendered racism is prevalent in NCAA Division I women's basketball and can have deleterious effects on the psychological health and the career ambitions of Black female assistant coaches. To improve the career path for these women, interventions are necessary. These interventions are not exclusively the responsibility of the Black women in Division I basketball; instead, everyone is responsible for working in collaboration with Black women to promote positive changes within individual institutions and the NCAA as a whole (LaVoi & Dutove, 2012). The following section will discuss possible interventions that target perpetrators (e.g. men and White persons) of sexism, racism, and gendered racism, as well as interventions presented to targets of sexism, racism, and gendered racism.

Practical Implications

One of the six essential characteristics of works grounded in cultural sport psychology is that the work is focused on praxis (Ryba, Schinke, & Tenenbaum, 2010). Therefore, it is hoped that the knowledge gained from this study can be applied in practical settings to improve the lives and career paths for these women. As evidenced throughout this discussion, gendered racism is prevalent in NCAA Division I women's basketball and can have deleterious effects on the psychological health and career ambitions of Black female assistant coaches. To improve the career path for these women, interventions are necessary. Everyone is responsible for working in collaboration with Black women to promote positive changes within individual institutions and the NCAA as a whole (LaVoi & Dutove, 2012); in other words, contrary to participant beliefs in the current study, such interventions are not the sole responsibility of Black women in Division I basketball.

Interventions for perpetrators. Though not an exhaustive list of possible intervention strategies, three intervention strategies developed and implemented by sport psychology consultants can be directed at male and White perpetrators of oppression in the sport context: (a) providing educational opportunities; (b) strengthening prosocial norms; (c) taking part in social advocacy. These three strategies have been taken and adapted from a more extensive list of global intervention strategies offered by Szymanski and Moffitt (2012).

For example, when beginning an intervention program with men and White persons about gendered racism, providing educational opportunities is essential. In the current study, Tiffany believed that the White staff members and administrators just "didn't get it." She recalled these individuals making statements like, "'I don't know how that could be offensive;'" therefore, she did not think they could understand how their actions could hurt Black women. The desired learning outcomes for the perpetrators taking part in these opportunities would then include: increased awareness of the perpetrators' attitudes and biases toward African American women; a better understanding of the perpetrators' own social identities; recognition of the privilege the perpetrators possess and an understanding that this privilege is sustained by society; the ability to identify types of gendered racist behaviors; and lastly, acquiring skills to challenge and stop oppressive behaviors as they are happening (adapted from Szymanski & Moffitt, 2012). A sport psychology consultant could have perpetrators participate in a privilege walk; complete an identity wheel; find examples gendered racism in news stories involving African American female athletes and coaches; and role play situations in which they discourage others from using offensive language about race and gender and offer suggestions for using more inclusive language to accomplish the learning outcomes of the intervention program.

Sport psychology consultants can also help strengthen prosocial norms as an intervention strategy targeting perpetrators of gendered racism. With this type of intervention, the goal is to "[create] a dominant culture of safety and respect, tolerance, and affirmation" (Szymanski & Moffitt, 2012, p. 20). A sport psychology consultant can accomplish this by encouraging peer and community leaders within athletic departments to participate in group discussions and programs that inform other members of the athletic department about the negative effects of gendered racism and to champion respect and civility. The Men 4 Men program at the University of Missouri is an example of a program that is implementing this type of intervention strategy, and it can be used as a model for other athletic departments (Malnati et al., 2016; Mizzou Network, 2015).

Lastly, sport psychology consultants can be social advocates as a way to reduce and prevent gendered racism. Sport psychology consultants within college athletics can work to ensure that male and female athletes are being treated equitably, and the consultants can file formal complaints if the athletic department is not upholding the requirements of Title IX. Consultants can also request to be a part of athletic department hiring committees to ensure that African American female applicants are given an equal opportunity at open positions. This is especially important given the perception of current study participants that White coaches are more likely to get jobs because "school officials are going to hire who they are most comfortable with, who the community wants, and who the people with the money want." (Lakeisha) Sport psychology consultants can also encourage men and White persons to take part in sociopolitical initiatives such as boycotting companies that engage in gendered racist practices.

Interventions for targets. Sport psychology consultants can also implement interventions for African American female coaches (i.e. the targets of oppression) to help reduce the negative effects of the gendered racism they routinely face. Possible intervention strategies include: (a) educating targets; (b) building on the targets' strengths when developing coping strategies; and (c) allowing targets to tell and rewrite their stories. These global intervention strategies were originally offered by Szymanski and Moffitt (2012) and have been adapted here to better fit the sport context.

Similar to the interventions aimed at the perpetrators, education is a key first step in interventions presented to African American females by sport psychology consultants. During our interview, Kim was "shocked" to learn how *few* Black female coaches were currently in NCAA Division I women's basketball. An educational intervention can come in the form of a workshop, printed materials, or information from websites and social media. The purposes of the educational intervention include: helping African American women gain a better understanding of their multiple social identities, introducing them to the pervasiveness and negative effects of gendered racism, and encouraging African American women to critically interrogate the Caucasian, male-dominated structures in society. Education is especially important for African American female coaches because they have a greater likelihood of experiencing oppression in the male-dominated profession of coaching in college athletics.

A second intervention strategy is using the targets' strength when identifying useful coping strategies (Szymanski & Moffitt, 2012). This strategy involves sport psychology consultants working with African American females to discover what coping strategies have worked well for them in the past and building from these experiences. For the participants in the current study, relying on social support was one coping strategy that the participants cited as

useful. Therefore, a sport psychology consultant working with these women could help the women to identify people in their network who could best help them based on the situation being faced. This is essential in the words of Louise because:

> You have all of your different friends and different mentors, and you're not going to go to Victoria Secret looking for a pair of Jordan's. It's the wrong store to go in, so [you have to know] what your friends provide for you, what you need from them, and who [is] going to be rational.

African American women can also work to develop moderators and mediators that will allow them to better cope with the oppressions that they face. These can include self-esteem, sense of control, and the internalization of racial and gender identities (Szymanski & Moffitt, 2012). Sport psychology consultants can also encourage African American female coaches to take action to combat the multiple oppressions they experience and gain a sense of empowerment. With this type of intervention program, sport psychology consultants may want to collaborate with sport psychologists to ensure that they are staying within their realm of competency.

Allowing African American women to tell and rewrite their stories is a third type of intervention strategy that can be used to reduce the prevalence of gendered racism (Szymanski & Moffitt 2012). This strategy relies upon sport psychology consultants asking the targets questions about their experiences of gendered racism, much like what was done in the interviews for this study. This type of interaction allows for open dialogue about how the experiences of the targets are similar to those of others and can further help the targets to feel better about the difficulties they have faced as a result of the sport context. Within these conversations, it is also important to empower African American women by helping them become aware of the power that they do have within the sport context: the power to change the experiences of future African American

female coaches by mentoring student-athletes. Participants in both the current study and in Borland and Bruening's (2010) study found mentoring to be a completely rewarding and important part of coaching for African American female assistant coaches. Furthermore, participants in the current study called for Black female coaches "to really mentor and give back" (Louise) to other coaches and "to support one another better" (Dominique). Intervention targets can also join an association like the Black Coaches Association and work for change as part of a larger group (Borland & Bruening, 2010).

Limitations and Future Research

Throughout the course of the current study, the participants and I co-constructed a narrative of the experiences of being a Black female assistant coach. This narrative has the power to shine light on the oppression experienced by these participants and can offer researchers insight into interventions that might reduce the likelihood of future oppression. However, due to the nature of narrative inquiry, a primary limitation of the current study is that, the results are not be generalizable to a larger population of coaches. Instead, the focus of the study is the temporal, emotional, relational, and contextual aspects of the current participants' lives; revealing and honoring the complexities of their experiences; and promoting personal and social change (Smith, 2010). A second limitation of the study is the use of snowball sampling. This sampling technique resulted in all of the participants being from the Midwestern and Southern regions of the United States, as well as them all being part of a similar coaching network. Lastly, while my experience as an assistant coach in NCAA Division I women's basketball positions me as an insider, racially, I am a member of the racial majority group and as a result, an outsider. Being both an insider and an outsider places me in the "space between," which could have affected the co-construction of stories within the interviews (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009).

While the current study and the study conducted by Borland and Bruening (2010) begin to answer questions regarding Black female coaches, more research is warranted. Quantitative studies that investigate the roles that assistant coaches fill in NCAA Division I women's basketball could provide further evidence of the "stacking" of Black female coaches into recruiting and skill development roles. Additionally, the criteria that athletic directors use when hiring head coaches in NCAA Division I women's basketball are currently unknown. A study investigating these criteria, as well as how the criteria privilege or oppress applicants based on race and gender would be of great value to the field. Since student-athletes present one of the most likely pools for future assistant coaches (Cunningham & Sagas, 2002), it would be beneficial to interview Black female student-athletes in women's basketball about their intentions to become coaches, as well as about what factors affect those intentions. Lastly, to my knowledge, there are currently no studies that investigate the experiences of Black female head coaches in NCAA Division I women's basketball. Conducting a critical narrative inquiry on the experiences of Black female head coaches would allow these individuals to share their stories that have been silenced; in addition, it would create an opportunity for researchers to work with these coaches to further address gendered racism and challenge the current oppressive system (Kim, 2016; Taylor, 2008).

Conclusion

To date, sport psychology researchers have overlooked the unique experiences of Black female assistant coaches. It is believed that the narrative that the participants and I have co-constructed in this study begins to fill this research gap, and allows researchers and practitioners to better understand the intersectional identities and lived experiences of Black female assistant coaches within NCAA Division I women's basketball. By understanding the roles that are

assigned to Black female assistant coaches and the ways that these coaches cope with the multiple oppressions that they face, researchers and practitioners can begin to develop interventions to improve both the current and future experiences of Black assistant coaches in NCAA Division I women's basketball. It is also anticipated that the relation of these experiences will help White and male coaches to see the role that they might be playing in gendered racism in Division I women's basketball. Lastly, it is hoped that the interventions developed in light of this research enhance the experiences and coaching career aspirations of Black female student-athletes by allowing them to see empowered, Black female role models in coaching.

Section 3: Extended Review of the Literature

Coach Development

At all levels, coaching is a complex process made up of both individual and social components (Cushion, Armour, & Jones, 2003). Over 850 articles about coaching science have been published to provide a better understanding of the coaching process, including more than 100 published articles about coaching expertise and effectiveness (Côté & Gilbert, 2009) and more than 150 published articles about coach learning and development (Cushion et al., 2010) Though coaching education research continues to grow, a lack of clarity in terminology and an absence of a clear-cut conceptual base nevertheless exists for coaching expertise (Côté & Gilbert, 2009), coach learning, and coach development (Cushion et al., 2010). This section provides a review of existing literature regarding coach expertise, coach learning, and coach development and the ways each have been conceptualized up to this point; it addresses how coach development can influence coaching self efficacy; and it presents an argument for how a study on African American female assistant coaches in National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) women's basketball will expand the current coaching science literature.

The Development of Coaching Expertise

Due to the important roles that coaches fill, sport organizations around the world are attempting to improve the quality of the coaches working or volunteering in their programs (Nelson, Cushion, & Potrac, 2006). To accomplish this task, the process of coach development must first be better understood, and then it must be improved (Mallett, Trudel, Lyle, & Rynne, 2009). The first step is to recognize that coaching is not an innate skill; rather, coaches are shaped by their experiences and must learn the skills and knowledge required for their assigned positions (Werthner & Trudel, 2006). In its simplest form, Werthner and Trudel (2006) define

coach development as the acquistion of the skills and knowledge necessary for a given coaching position. Though the definition is easily understood, the process of coach development is more complex as the skills and knowledge necessary to become an effective coach are acquired across a series of developmental stages (Schempp, McCullick, & Sannen Mason, 2006) and in a variety of ways (Nelson et al., 2006).

Coaching Effectiveness and Expertise

Ericsson and Charness (1994) found that expert performers across domains require "approximately 10 years of essentially full-time preparation, which corresponds to several thousands of hours of practice" to develop their expertise (p. 738). In other words, developing into an expert in any field, including coaching, requires an extensive time commitment and deliberate practice. Deliberate practice is structured, is used to improve performance, requires concerted effort, and is not inherently enjoyable (Ericsson, Krampe, & Tesch-Römer, 1993). Ericsson and Charness's (1994) finding is encouraging for current and aspiring coaches and researchers in coach development as "it means that investing in experience, intentional practice of specific coaching skills, and extended learning will pay dividends in developing coaching expertise" (Schempp et al., 2006, p.145). While encouraging, this finding only becomes useful when coaches and practitioners can identify what specific skills and knowledge must be acquired through deliberate practice in order to become an expert coach.

Though coaching expertise has been discussed in the coach science literature, a clear idea of what kinds of skills and knowledge this type of expertise entails is often missing. Côté and Gilbert (2009) emphasized that "there still remains 'a lack of precision in terminology and approach, and a singular failure to relate effectiveness and expertise literature to any conceptual understanding of the coaching process'" (p. 307; Lyle, 2002, p. 251). Questions regarding how

coaching expertise is defined are often left unanswered or only partially answered by authors in coach development literature. One possible explanation for these incomplete answers might be found in the ways researchers select research participants for studies about expert coaches. When selecting research participants, researchers choose certain criteria or a combination of criteria (e.g. performance outcomes, athlete satisfaction, and years of coaching experience) to delimit the sample, but these criteria vary across studies and are not based on a well-established definition of coach expertise (Côté & Gilbert, 2009). For example, the eight elite basketball coaches in a study conducted by Jiménez, Lorenzo, and Ibáñez (2009) had to meet three criteria to be identified as an expert coach: being identified as an expert by a peer, winning a team championship, and coaching professional international teams and players. In contrast, in Schempp, Webster, McCullick, Busch, and Webster's (2007) study on expert golf coaches, the coaches had to be included in *Golf Magazine's* 'Top 100 Golf Instructors in America' list to be considered an expert. Côté and Gilbert (2009) also observed that 'good' coaches are referred to using a variety of adjectives including successful, experienced, expert, and elite. While Côté & Gilbert acknowledge the contributions of these studies to coaching science, they argue that "our progress as a field will continue to be limited until we can clearly articulate a shared conceptual understanding of coaching effectiveness and coaching exertise" (p. 308).

To help eliminate this ambiguity, Côté and Gilbert (2009) developed an integrative definition for coaching effectiveness using conceptual models of coaching that have emerged from several areas of study (e.g. motivation, leadership, and coach-athlete relationships). This definition can be used by researchers, practitioners, and sport organizations when addressing the topic of expert coaches. Côté and Gilbert (2009) define coaching effectiveness as "the consistent application of integrated professional, interpersonal, and intrapersonal knowledge to improve

athletes' competence, confidence, connection and character in specific coaching contexts" (p. 316). The authors further clarify that coaches who exhibit coaching effectiveness over many years may then be labeled expert coaches.

The definition of coaching effectiveness is based on three common variables that are found in many of the conceptual frameworks in coaching; these variables are coaches' knowledge, athletes' outcomes, and coaching contexts (Côté & Gilbert, 2009). Coach knowledge can include sport specific information, understanding the culture of the environment, personal experiences, tactical strategies, and administrative skills (Cushon et al., 2003). In addition, the ability to develop and maintain interpersonal relationships is essential to coach knowledge (Côté & Gilbert, 2009). Gilbert and Trudel (2005) and Schempp and colleagues (2007) further suggest that knowing how to learn from one's own experiences through reflection and self-monitoring, respectively, are integral to coach knowledge. Therefore, coaches must obtain professional, interpersonal, and intrapersonal knowledge before coaching effectiveness and expertise can be reached (Côté & Gilbert, 2009). Professional knowledge is often privileged in coach education and coach recruitment (Werthner & Trudel, 2006), and as such, coaches are oftentimes hired due to the sport knowledge obtained during their playing careers (Côté & Gilbert, 2009). Many of these coaches lack interpersonal and intrapersonal knowledge and as a result, are ill prepared for the task at hand. Without a coach development program in the organization to help them learn the missing skills and obtain the appropriate knowledge, these coaches are at risk of being fired or forced to resign. This could partially explain the high turnover rates of coaches in professional and collegiate athletics (Côté & Gilbert, 2009). The ways in which coaches obtain all three types of knowledge will be discussed in depth in a later section.

The second component of Côté and Gilbert's (2009) definition of coaching effectiveness is athletes' outcomes. For this component, Côté and Gilbert evaluated Horn's (2008) definition of coaching effectiveness. Horn's definition is based strictly on athletes' performance and psychological outcomes, so Côté and Gilbert made it more explicit by connecting coach effectiveness to how well coaches influence athletes' competence, confidence, connection, character/caring (i.e., the four C's)(Côté, Bruner, Strachan, Erickson, & Fraser-Thomas, 2009). By Horn's definition, competence would be classified as a performance outcome, and confidence, connection, and character/caring would be considered psychological outcomes. Competence (i.e., performance) outcomes are the most often noticed and can be measured by a variety of performance indicators (Côté & Gilbert, 2009). By separating psychological outcomes into confidence, connection, and character/caring, researchers and practitioners can assess coach effectiveness in more detail and cater coach development to specific areas requiring improvement, such as a coach's ability to enhance athletes' character.

The final component of Côté and Gilbert's (2009) definition of coaching effectiveness is coaching contexts. Côté and Gilbert defined coaching contexts as "the unique settings in which coaches endeavor to improve athlete outcomes" (p.314). These contexts can be identified based on the developmental stage of the athletes or the goals of the athletes within the contexts. Youth sports, developmental sport programs, elite-level sports, college sports, and professional sports are all examples of different contexts. In order for coaches to become experts in specific contexts, they must have, and be able to apply, the skills and knowledge appropriate for the athletes and the situational demands that arise in those contexts (Côté & Gilbert, 2009). The idea of coaching context could help to explain why some coaches who are successful at the collegiate

level do not have the same success at the professional level; the coaching expertise these coaches developed at the college level may not fit the professional context.

Though Côté and Gilbert (2009) only recently defined an expert coach as one who can consistently apply professional, interpersonal, and intrapersonal knowledge to improve athletes' competence, confidence, connection, and character within a certain context over an extended period of time, it is hoped that researchers will use this definition in future research when selecting a sample of expert coaches. This will create consistency across studies and allow results to be compared in more meaningful ways. Koh, Bloom, Fairhurst, Paiement, and Kee (2014) provide an example for using Côté and Gilbert's definition in participant selection. The expert coaches they chose to serve as mentors for their study met the following criteria:

> a minimum of 10 years of coaching experience, currently coaching team(s), exceptional coaching achievements, and endorsement by an expert panel from the Basketball Association of Singapore (BAS) as among the best in their country using Côté and Gilbert's (2009) definition of coaching effectiveness. (p. 15)

I would follow a similar model as Koh and colleague when working to identify expert coaches.

Two critiques of the current literature on coaching effectiveness are that few studies have looked at the contexts of (a) NCAA Division I women's basketball or (b) assistant coaches. Due to the busy schedules of coaches in NCAA Division I sports, limited access to these coaches may also create a barrier for researchers. The contacts I made during my time as an NCAA Division I assistant coach will help me overcome this barrier. Surprisingly, assistant coaches receive little attention in coach development research. This may be a result of researchers viewing assistant positions as part of the developmental process with head coach positions as the end goal; however, this is not always the case. I know many coaches within the NCAA who are expert

assistants and recognize that the role of assistant is the context for which they are best suited. Assistant coaches at this level are an untapped source of information about coaching effectiveness.

From Novice to Expert

The previous section explains what an expert coach is.. This section addresses how coaches develop into experts. The current coaching science literature repeatedly identifies coach development as a complex process requiring individualization (Cushion et al., 2003; Stoszkowski & Collins, 2014; Werthner & Trudel, 2006), and as mentioned earlier, many years of deliberate practice. Formal coach development programs, on the other hand, have been described as lacking depth (Jones, Armour, & Potrac, 2003), being manual-based (i.e., coaching skills are learned through reading a manual) (Piggott, 2012), and not allowing enough time to acquire the necessary skills (Koh et al., 2014; Piggott, 2012). The disconnect between the needs of developing coaches and the services currently being provided by coach education programs needs to be bridged to improve coach development. To begin closing this gap, it is essential to understand the stages of coach development from novice to expert, and how coaches obtain the knowledge necessary to move through those stages.

Developmental stages. Using the work of Berliner (1994) as a model, Schempp et al. (2006) outlined the developmental stages of coaching and identified what "skills, knowledge, characteristics and perspectives [are] common to coaches as they pass from beginner, to competent, to proficient, to expert coach" (p. 145). Recently, this model has gained empirical support in the coaching literature. Jiménez et al. (2009) found that the expert coaches in their study moved from an "Imitative practice" stage, to a "Reflective practice" stage, to a "Developmental knowledge" stage, and ultimately reached the stage of "Expert coach" (i.e., a

coach who was recognized as a prestigious coach by his peers, had won a professional basketball award with his team, and had coached professional international teams and players) (p. 24-25). Though the language is different, these stages parallel those proposed by Schempp et al. (2006). Developmental models, such as Schempp and colleagues' (2006) and Jiménez and colleagues' (2009), will allow developing coaches to recognize what stage they are currently in and provide insight into what skills they need to learn or improve to move to the next stage (Schempp et al., 2006). For a beginner coach, the extensive 10-plus year process of becoming an expert coach may seem overwhelming. However, using this type of developmental model will allow novice coaches to view coach development as a more manageable undertaking and help provide a framework for setting short and long-term goals. The characteristics of coaches in each stage of the developmental model will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

Coaches in the beginner stage (i.e., stage one) of development may only have limited coaching experience, but they usually have years of playing experience to bolster their understanding of the rules and the basic structure of the sport or sports they coach (Schempp et al., 2006). Schempp and colleagues further describe coaches in this first stage as routine oriented and lacking a sense of personal responsibility if their athletes do not improve with the instruction provided. Coaching in this stage may also be characterized by the implementation of forms of instruction that the coach learned as a player or in a coaching manual used in a coach education program, even though they may be inappropriate for the context in which they are currently coaching.

A coach in stage two of coach development is known as a competent coach. Competent coaches begin making connections between the current situation they are in and their previous sporting experiences and allow these connections to guide their decision making and the

development of strategic sport knowledge. Competent coaches also begin to use long-term goals when making decisions and have contingency plans for a variety of situations (Schempp et al., 2006). Competent coaches are no longer restricted to applying what they learned in coaching manuals or from previous playing experiences; instead, they can combine these forms of knowledge as well as their previous coaching experiences to influence their practice.

Proficient coaches constitute stage three of coach development. Schempp et al. (2006) explain that proficient coaches have the ability to recognize problems within their coaching context, identify the sources of the problems, and offer a variety of solutions. They also begin to use intuition in their decision-making and can predict the outcomes of these decisions before they occur (Schempp et al., 2006). This allows coaches to be more efficient and effective with their coaching methods. Proficient coaches are prepared to respond at any "given moment in time" (Jiménez et al., 2009, p. 25).

Coaches in the final stage of coach development are known as expert coaches. The behaviors of expert coaches can be described as intuitive, automatic, sensitive to anomalies, and forward-thinking (Schempp et al., 2006). As a result, expert coaches solve problems quickly and can consistently apply their extensive knowledge in order to help athletes achieve a variety of positive outcomes.

Coach learning. Though means of attaining the knowledge necessary to move through the stages of coach development were briefly mentioned (e.g. beginner stage coaches attain knowledge through previous playing experience and information learned in manuals), a more comprehensive review of how coaches learn is warranted. Many formal coach education programs favor the learning of content knowledge that can easily be assessed by a written test given at the end of the course (Cushion et al., 2003). Many coaches hold their learned experience

in higher regards than the content knowledge that they obtained from courses, (Werthner & Trudel, 2006) but they feel obligated to enroll in coach education certification programs as a 'rite of passage' in order to earn the status of an elite coach (Piggot, 2012). To transform these programs from 'rites of passage' to meaningful learning experiences, scholars and program developers must realize that learning to become an expert coach does not occur in a single way; instead, scholars and program developers should consider all of the ways individual coaches learn when creating coach education courses.

Coach learning within the current literature has been conceptualized based on a number of adult learning frameworks (Cushion et al., 2010). For the purpose of this paper, the focus will be on two of these frameworks, Coombs and Ahmed's (1974) framework for adult learning and Moon's (2004) network metaphor for learning, to help organize the research findings presented. Empirical research will be mentioned throughout the explanation of these frameworks, but for a more detailed description of the studies and the types of learning investigated in each, refer to Table 1.

The first framework is Coombs and Ahmed's (1974) formal, nonformal, and informal framework for adult learning (Nelson et al., 2006). Formal learning takes place in a structured educational system and "characteristically require[s] [a] candidate to demonstrate prerequisites outlined in admissions guidelines, before embarking on a course that enforces compulsory attendance, standardized curricula and culminates in certification of some kind" (Cushion et al., 2010, p. 45). The coach learning literature includes university degree programs, national governing body coaching awards, and other certification programs as sites of formal learning (Nelson et al., 2006). Though many coaches take part in formal learning activities, some coaches, especially those with more experience, perceive them as having little value (Jiménez et

al., 2009; Jones et al., 2003). In contrast, coaches that can gain practical experiences (Dieffenbach, Murray, & Zakrajsek, 2011) and openly discuss the course material (Piggott, 2012) during their formal learning situations have reported positive learning outcomes.

Like formal learning, nonformal learning is an organized educational activity, but it is not part of a larger educational system (Cushion et al., 2010). Nonformal learning also differs in that it is specifically designed for a subgroup in the target population (Nelson et al., 2006). An example of a nonformal learning situation in coaching is a skills clinic for youth soccer coaches. Researchers often group clinics and workshops (nonformal learning situations) and semester-long classes (formal learning situations) into a generic 'coaching courses' category within their studies. As a result, these researchers cannot determine the different ways nonformal and formal learning situations affect the development of coaches. (Nelson et al., 2006). However, the few studies that have focused their attention on nonformal learning situations found that like formal learning situations, nonformal situations can be effective for coach learning. For example, the elite men's artistic gymnastic coaches interviewed by Irwin, Hanton, and Kerwin (2004) stated that they learned from the other coaches in attendance at squad session (i.e. clinics). Additionally, Reade, Rodgers, and Hall (2008) found that coaching clinics were a preferred source of information for interuniversity coaches in Canada. Lastly, Falcão, Bloom, and Gilbert (2012) interviewed six youth sport coaches who attended a workshop designed to promote youth development outcomes. The coaches informed researchers that after the workshop they felt better prepared to use sport to promote life skills and further shared that the behavior changes they made as a result of the workshop led to positive effects for the athletes on their teams.

Unlike formal and nonformal learning, informal learning does not occur in an organized or systematic fashion. Instead, informal learning has been defined as "'the lifelong process by

which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes and insights from daily experiences and exposure to the environment'" (Coombs & Ahmed, 1974, p.8 as cited by Cushion, et al., 2010). This form of learning can occur in a variety of contexts and is usually outside of formal learning environments such as universities or lecture rooms (Côté et al., 2009; Nelson et al., 2006). Within coaching research, informal learning has been established as a preferred path for many of the coaches studied (Cushion et al., 2010). Contexts such as previous playing and coaching experience (Jiménez et al., 2009; Jones et al., 2003), observing and interacting with other coaches (Erickson, Bruner, MacDonald, & Côté, 2008), and looking up information in coaching books or on the internet (Lemyre, Trudel, & Durand-Bush, 2007) have all been cited by coaches as informal learning situations that helped them to develop as a coach.

The informal learning opportunities that Black female assistant coaches in NCAA Division I women's basketball may be limited by the roles that they are asked to fill. Borland and Bruening's (2010) found that Black female assistant basketball coaches discussed being 'designated recruiters' and lacking exposure to other aspects of the coaching profession, such as practice and game planning or public speaking. This lack of exposure decreases the informal learning opportunities in areas other than recruiting and could negatively affect their development as a coach. A primary emphasis of this study will be to learn what roles these women fill on their coaching staffs and how those roles were assigned. I believe that these initial inquiries will lead to further conversations about their development as coaches. Further, I hope to talk with them about what has helped them develop as a coach and what is needed to help them on their journey to becoming expert coaches.

The second conceptual framework used to explain coach learning is Moon's (2004) network metaphor for learning which describes learning as a daily occurrence that results in an

ever-changing cognitive structure of knowledge, feelings, and emotions (Werthner & Trudel, 2006). Werthner and Trudel (2006) further explain that the cognitive structure is at the center of the "learning process because it guides what we choose to pay attention to or what we choose to learn" (p. 201). These cognitive structures help explain why coach learning is an individualized process. Each coach has had unique experiences inside and outside of sport; therefore, what they choose to pay attention to and what they choose to learn will be different as well. Based on Moon's framework, there are three types of learning situations that will change a coach's cognitive structure: mediated learning situations, which are controlled by another person (e.g. formal coaching clinics); unmediated learning situations, which are completely dictated by the learner choosing what to learn and how to learn it (e.g. reading coaching literature); and internal learning situations, which involve the learner reevaluating ideas and experiences that are already a part of the cognitive structure of the coach (e.g. reflection) (Werthner & Trudel, 2006).

If one considers these definitions and examines the "types of learning" column in Table 1, a large overlap is found between formal and mediated, nonformal and mediated, and informal and unmediated learning situations. Moon's inclusion of an internal learning situation is what sets the framework apart. Two types of internal learning situations, reflection (i.e., "mentally reliving aspects of professional experiences" (Schempp et al., 2007, p. 176)) and self-monitoring (i.e., "observing and tracking of one's own performance and outcomes" (Schempp et al., 2007, p. 176)) have been shown to lead to coach learning. Gilbert and Trudel (2005) found that reflection is essential to the experiential learning process within coach development. Schempp et al. (2007) discovered that the expert coaches surveyed continually improved their coaching practice by using self-monitoring which allowed them to study their own behavior, to set goals, and to make changes to these behaviors if necessary.

Mentoring. Though Moon's learning situations are presented separately, they often occur simultaneously, and all are necessary to the development of an expert coach (Werthner & Trudel, 2006). Cushion et al. (2010) offers similar advice about the three categories (formal, nonformal, and informal) presented by Coombs and Ahmed: "they should be understood as interconnected modes of a complex learning process rather than discrete entities" (p. 21). Mentoring is sometimes informal learning, yet what is learned by the protégé is mediated by the mentor and leads the protégé to reflection or some other form of internal learning. Alternatively, mentoring can be a part of a formal learning environment where internal learning is strongly encouraged, but what is to be learned is decided upon by the protégé, and therefore, unmediated when working with the mentor. The variety of learning situations available through mentoring might explain why sport organizations around the world are working to create formalized mentoring programs to enhance their coach education efforts (Bloom, 2013).

Though mentoring seems like it would be considered a primary source of coach learning, Bloom (2013) notes that the mentoring literature in coaching is scant. This may partially be due to the lack of a clear and consistent definition or conceptual framework for mentoring (Jones, Harris, & Miles, 2009). After examining definitions of mentoring across a wide range of disciplines, Jones et al. (2009) identified several consistencies among them: a) mentoring is a relationship between a more knowledgeable and experienced person and a less experienced person; b) mentoring consists of "doing something *with"* (i.e. developing, guiding, supporting, etc.) and not *to* a protégé (p. 269); and c) the purpose of the relationship is to help promote the protégé's career and personal development. Taking these characteristics into account, researchers can better identify mentoring relationships and more easily study the influence they have on coach learning.

Though there has been a limited amount of research about mentoring, the results of these studies have shown that mentoring has positive outcomes on coach learning. Bloom, Durand-Bush, Schinke, and Salmela (1998) interviewed 21 expert team-sport coaches in Canada about their experiences with both mentoring and being mentored. The coaches in this study participated in informal mentoring, and they noted that finding a mentor required "a bit of luck and personal persistence" (p. 274). During their mentoring relationship, the participants learned sport specific knowledge, such as tactical and technical strategies, as well as the proper ways to handle relationships with other people. The expert coaches also stated that when they acted as mentors, they shared the same types of knowledge with their protégés and offered them opportunities to gain valuable opportunities and network (Bloom et al., 1998).

Koh et al. (2014) investigated the outcomes of a formal mentoring program established for 36 novice coaches in Singapore as a part of a Level 1 basketball coaching program. As a part of this formal mentoring program, each mentee was assigned to a mentor and was required to spend eight hours observing or working hands-on with the mentor. Each time a mentee attended a game or a practice, he or she was given the opportunity to personally interact with the mentor to facilitate the mentee's learning and understanding of the roles of a coach. The results reported by Koh and colleagues were similar to those found in Bloom's (1998) study. The mentees learned technical sport knowledge, new, creative ways of thinking, better ways to manage their time, and they began developing their own coaching framework. The mentors also benefitted from this program by learning tactical and technical knowledge from their mentees. While these studies make clear the benefits of mentoring, research has further shown mentoring is especially important for women and minorities in coaching who are trying to break into the White, male dominated world of coaching (Lough, 2001) as mentoring "can provide them with a positive role

model, and can promote them and introduce them to others who might be able to help with their career progression" (Bloom, 2008, p. 483). This finding was supported by the participants in Kilty's (2006) study who identified a lack of mentors as a major barrier for female coaches.

While most of the results from studies regarding mentoring as a source of knowledge in coach learning were in favor of mentoring programs, a great deal of work needs to be done to improve these programs to make them both practical and beneficial. The participants from Koh and colleagues' (2014) study recommended that the eight hours of mentor contact be extended in future programs and that mentors and mentees be matched based on level of coaching, personality, or coaching style (Koh et al., 2014). In addition to the two suggestions, Jones et al. (2009) has offered several other suggestions for creating effective mentoring programs: the programs should establish a clear agreement on the expectations of the mentoring relationship; set goals for the protégé to accomplish during the program; provide training and support for mentors; and promote mutual trust between the protégés and mentors. When mentoring programs are designed in this way, a mentoring relationship can "improve protégés' confidence and competence" as they develop their expertise as a coach (Bloom, 2013, p. 483).

Within the studies that have been published on coach effectiveness, learning, and development up to this point, the researchers often fail to mention the race or ethnicity of the research participants, which leads the reader to believe that the participants in these studies were members of the majority race or ethnic group (i.e., European American in the United States). Of the 17 studies discussed in this review and included in Table 1, only Dieffenbach et al. (2011) mentioned the race or ethnicity of the their participants. Currently, I have been unable to find any empirical studies that address the role race might play within coach development and learning. Studies within sport management have found that African Americans feel isolated and slotted

into roles based on their race (Borland & Bruening, 2010), but how this changes the learning situations African American women seek out or how this affects their development as coaches has not been studied.

Additionally, only Weiss et al. (1991) and Kilty (2006) limited their participants to include only female coaches. The other fifteen studies included only male participants or a sample that was heavily male dominated. With the limited research on female coaches, it is unclear if the developmental stages outlined by Schempp et al. (2006) and the coach learning frameworks discussed by Cushion et al. (2010) are fully applicable to female coaches. Kilty suggested that coach education might be a better experience for women if they were encouraged to participate in growth-fostering relationships and if they are allowed to be more involved in decision making and have a voice. More women's voices need to be heard in order to further support these suggestions. My study will not question the role race plays and the role gender plays separately; instead, it will consider the intersection of these two identities, which is also missing in the coach development literature.

Coaching Efficacy and Coach Development

Much of the discussion to this point has been focused on creating learning situations that might increase the competence (i.e., the required skills and knowledge) of coaches, but is competence the only attribute that needs to be developed? Bloom's ideas about mentoring programs would suggest that improving confidence, the belief that one can perform a behavior successfully (Weinberg & Gould, 2011), is also an important part of coach development. More specifically, enhancing coach efficacy, coaches' beliefs in their ability to impact the development of their athletes inside and outside of sport, should also be a goal within coach education programs (Feltz, Chase, Moritz, & Sullivan, 1999).

Feltz et al. (1999) constructed a conceptual model of coach efficacy (see Figure 1) consisting of sources of coaching efficacy information, four coaching efficacy dimensions (e.g., motivation, game strategy, technique, and character building), and outcomes. Within this conceptual model of coaching efficacy, Feltz and colleagues (1999) propose that coaching experience, prior successes or failures in coaching, perceived skill of athletes, and perceived social support (i.e., sources of coaching efficacy information) influence the four dimensions of coaching efficacy. Feltz et al. further suggest that the dimensions of coaching efficacy impact outcomes such as coaching behavior (e.g., the use of positive reinforcement), player/team satisfaction, player/team performance, and player/team efficacy. Based on this model, researchers can hypothesize that coaches who have more successful coaching experiences, perceive their athletes to be skilled, and believe they have social support will have higher coaching efficacy. In turn, these high-efficacy coaches will use more effective coaching techniques, coach athletes who are more satisfied with their experience and more efficacious, and lead athletes and teams to higher levels of success than coaches with low coaching efficacy.

Though the sources of coaching efficacy information and predicted outcomes are straightforward, the efficacy dimensions are less explicit, so these will be expanded upon. Motivation efficacy (ME) is the confidence that coaches have in their capacity to affect the psychological states of their athletes. Game strategy efficacy (GSE) is coaches' beliefs that they have the ability to lead their athletes to a successful outcome in competition. Technique efficacy (TE) is the confidence coaches have in their capacity to teach and correct skills. Character building efficacy is the belief that coaches have regarding their capacity to influence the personal development of their athletes. Collectively, the four dimensions represent the coaches' belief on their overall coaching ability, total coaching efficacy (TCE). To measure these dimensions, Feltz

et al. (1999) created the Coaching Efficacy Scale (CES). Empirical studies have shown the CES to be valid and reliable and have supported Feltz and colleagues conceptual model (Myers, Vargas-Tonsing, & Feltz, 2005). Additionally, researchers have contributed to the model by identifying additional sources of coaching efficacy information including playing experience, support of athletes, and coach education (Feltz, Hepler, Roman, & Paiement, 2009).

Of particular interest to this review are the studies that found coach education as a source of coaching efficacy. Malete and Feltz (2000) distributed a pre- and posttest of the CES to a group of 60 high school coaches. The control group attended a PE class while the experimental group attended 12-hours of coach education sessions. These sessions included:

> guidelines for interscholastic athletics; legal responsibilities of the interscholastic coach; emergency procedures for victims of accidents and injuries; prevention, care and rehabilitation of sport injuries; role of the coach; effective instruction and game strategy; motivating athletes; personal and social skills; positive coaching; and maintaining discipline. (Malete & Feltz, 2000, p. 413).

Though the two groups scored the same statistically on the pre-test, the experimental group had significantly higher TE and GSE scores than did the control group on the posttest. Further, Chase, Feltz, Hayashi, and Hepler (2005) interviewed 12 male high school coaches and found that they attribute their coaching efficacy in part to coach development programs that they participated in and/or clinics they attended. Additionally, Sullivan, Paquette, Holt, and Bloom (2012) learned that of the 172 youth coaches that they surveyed, the coaches who had attended coach education classes had more coaching efficacy than those who did not. The results of these studies indicate that formal and mediated learning situations have a positive impact on coaching efficacy.

Improving coaching efficacy through formal and mediated learning situations as a part of coach education program is essential for coach development. As stated earlier, higher coaching efficacy is related to positive coaching behaviors such as the use of proper technical instruction and increased player and team satisfaction, performance, and efficacy (Feltz et al., 1999). The positive outcomes influenced by higher coaching efficacy help contribute to the development of coaching effectiveness as defined by Côté and Gilbert (2009) and described above. For example, the positive outcomes of using the most effective coaching behaviors and coaching more teams and athletes to success as a result of increased coaching efficacy are realted to effective coaches consistently applying professional, interpersonal, and intrapersonal knowledge and increasing athletes' competence, respectively. When coaches can demonstrate this effectiveness over an extended period of time and use their previous successes as a source of coaching efficacy information, they can develop into experts (Côté & Gilbert, 2009). Black female coaches being slotted into a "designated recruiter" role, as discussed above, may limit the opportunities these coaches have for success in other aspects of coaching such as game strategy or technique development. As a result, their efficacy within the GSE and TE dimensions of coaching efficacy may be reletaively low due to not having a source of coaching efficacy information. Low efficacy in these dimensions could negatively affect the success they experience and their development as coaches.

Like with the other aspects of coach development, much of the research on coaching efficacy has been conducted with White participants. The samples that Feltz et al. (1999) used to validate the CES were approximately 90% White. Therefore, it is unknown as to whether coaching efficacy as it is currently modeled would fit the experiences of Black female coaches.

Conclusion

At times, expert coaches make coaching seem easy and natural, but as we have seen throughout this paper, coaching is a complicated practice that requires years of learning to be done effectively. In addition to presenting the definition of coach expertise, this paper has described how coach learning has been conceptualized; has explained how coaches use a variety of learning situations to progress from a novice coach to an expert; and has outlined how coach education programs can influence coaching efficacy. Lastly, though more than 250 articles have been published about coaching expertise and effectiveness and/or coach learning and development, this paper has presented an argument for ways a study on NCAA Division I Black female assistant coaches women's basketball coaches will expand the current coaching science literature.

Quality research fills gaps in the literature as well as inspires other researchers to extend the field in new directions. My dissertation will be quality research that answers questions about the development of NCAA Division I African American female assistant coaches and stirs others to explore new questions regarding the role race and gender serve in the development of expert coaches.

Intersection of Race and Gender

In 2005, Bruening questioned in regard to sport, "Are all the women White and all the Blacks men?" (p. 330). While research within sport has focused on the effects of race and gender separately, few studies have investigated the effects of the accumulation, interaction, or intersection of racism and sexism (Borland & Bruening, 2010). As a result, not only are Black women in sport discriminated against and neglected in mainstream media and within sport organizations, but they are also ignored in sport studies research and literature (Hall, 2001).

When Black women are included in research, it is typically in the form of descriptive statistics that identify Black women as an underrepresented group in the domain being studied (Bruening, 2005). Bruening further explains that, "without the words, experiences, and meanings behind the statistics, it cannot be assumed that 'the life experiences of Black female athletes do not differ in meaningful ways from either Black male athletes or White female athletes'" (Sellers et al., 1997, p. 700; as cited in Bruening, 2005, p. 334). Sport management researchers have begun to address this dearth in research by qualitatively investigating the experiences of Black female athletes and coaches (e.g. Borland & Bruening, 2010; Bruening, 2004; Bruening, Armstrong, & Pastore, 2005); however, sport psychology research, especially research on competitive athletes and coaches, has failed to answer Hall's (2001) call for more research on women of color.

In the dissertation study, I will answer the calls of both Hall and Bruening as I focus on the stories and experiences of Black female assistant coaches in NCAA Division I women's basketball. As Black women in a White male dominated context, the participants in this study likely will have faced both racism and sexism in their careers (Borland & Bruening, 2010). To better understand their experiences and to be better prepared to co-construct their stories, I must first better understand the impact these multiple oppressions might have on the psychological and professional development of my participants and how their identity as a Black woman might affect this impact. The purpose of this paper is (a) to discuss how multiple oppressions, such as racism and sexism, can be studied and the impact these oppressions may have on the psychological health and development of Black female assistant coaches; (b) to explain expanded Nigrescence theory (Cross & Vandiver, 2001) and Womanist identity models and the influence these might have on the development of Black female coaches; (c) to identify strategies Black female coaches use to cope with and resist these multiple oppressions, and (d) to describe

interventions implemented by sport psychology consultants that might help reduce racism, sexism, and gendered racism as well as help Black women better cope with and resist these oppressions.

Sexism and Racism

Black women are subjected to both sexism and racism. Sexism and racism refer to "negative attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors that devalue, denigrate, stigmatize, or restrict" individuals based on gender (Szymanski & Stewart, 2010, p. 1) or their skin color and/or ethnic heritage, respectively (Gerrig & Zimbardo, 2002). These oppressions can occur at a number of levels (e.g. individual, familial, institutional, and sociocultural) and can manifest in external (e.g. discrimination and harassment) and internal forms (e.g. negative attitudes about oneself or the minority group in which one belongs) (Szymanski & Stewart, 2010).

Sexism

Within the coaching literature, a vast amount of research has been conducted to call attention to the sexism faced by female coaches in sport (LaVoi & Dutove, 2012). At the individual level, female coaches have reported lower levels of perceived competence and feel a greater need to prove themselves than their male counterparts (Kilty, 2006). Interpersonally, women are excluded from the "Old Boy's Clubs" that are rampantly prevalent in sport and often feel socially isolated (LaVoi & Dutove, 2012). Female coaches have also found it difficult to secure a mentor, which may also lead to fewer future career opportunities and limit their possibilities of upward mobility (Greenhill, Auld, Cuskelly, & Hooper, 2009; LaVoi & Dutove, 2012). Lavoi and Dutove (2012) cite numerous research texts with evidence of women being undervalued, underpaid, viewed as less competent by administrators, marginalized, and silenced at the institutional and organizational level. Lastly, sexism at the sociocultural level serves as a

barrier for female coaches (LaVoi & Dutove, 2012). Effective coaches are coaches who demonstrate masculine characteristics according to the dominant ideologies constructed within sport (Kilty, 2006). However, to avoid being labeled a lesbian and face heterosexist oppression, female coaches must also demonstrate hegemonic femininity. As a result, women "are left to negotiate conformance to feminine norms while simultaneously demonstrating competence by exhibiting male/masculine behaviours that society upholds as coaching effectiveness" (LaVoi & Dutove, 2012, p. 28).

Racism

In addition to sexism, racism has also been investigated across varying levels of sport to help explain the under-representation of Black coaches (Cunningham, 2010). At the individual level, Black student athletes and coaches have reported intentions pursue head coaching positions and have not been found to express internalized racism regarding their abilities to succeed as a coach (Cunningham, Bruening, & Straub, 2006). However, Cunningham and colleagues (2006) found that discrimination and fewer opportunities to advance have led Black coaches to have higher turnover intentions than their White counterparts. Prejudice and discriminatory hiring practices; being valued as a recruiter rather than a skills or strategies coach; and the belief of some administrators that boosters (i.e., individuals who donate money to athletic departments) will discontinue financial support if a Black coach is hired are examples of racism at the organizational and institutional level (Cunningham, 2010). Cunningham (2010) further explains that at the sociocultural level, racist ideologies have been constructed in sport that depict "Whites as smarter, more ethical, better leaders, than their Black counterparts" (p. 397). Therefore, an effective coach is not only male as seen in the above discussion on sexism, but he is also White.

Though each of the levels were discussed separately for ease of explanation, "the different levels [of sexism and racism] do not operate in isolation, but instead, influence and are influenced by one another" (Cunningham, 2010, p. 402). This is especially important to note at the individual level to ensure that individuals who face internalized oppression are not blamed for bringing these experiences upon themselves. Internalized oppression is the result of inescapable external oppression that is constructed by the broader social system (Szymanski & Stewart, 2010).

Effects of Sexism and Racism

Sexism and racism at all levels lead to detrimental physical and psychological health effects as well as career implications for Black female coaches. In the general population, sexism has also been linked to greater psychological distress in women (Szymanski & Stewart, 2010). For women in coaching, LaVoi and Dutove (2012) list

> alienation, feeling highly visible and subjected to scrutiny, having to over-perform to gain credibility, feeling pressure to conform to organizational norms, enduring increased risk for gender discrimination in the forms of sexual harassment, wage inequities and limited opportunities for promotions (p. 18)

as the detrimental effects of sexism. Racism has also been linked to increased psychological distress among Blacks in the general population (Szymanski & Stewart, 2010). Additionally, racism in coaching has been found to negatively affect career longevity, job satisfaction, physical health, and the possibility of career advancement (Cunningham, 2010).

Multiple Oppressions

The researchers in most of the studies on coaching mentioned throughout this review chose to investigate either sexism or racism. As a result, they failed to consider the complexity

that comes from studying multiple sources of oppression and the unique effects that the interaction of these oppressions can have on Black women (Szymanski & Stewart, 2010). Furthermore, the experiences of Black female coaches have been silenced (LaVoi & Dutove, 2012). One notable exception to this is Borland and Bruening's (2010) study on the under-representation of Black females as head coaches. In this study, the participants experienced isolation as they were often the only Black female on a coaching staff, were viewed as players or recruiters more than coaches capable of doing a multitude of tasks, and felt the need to hide their race, gender, and sexuality to fit the norms of the collegiate coaching culture. The barriers experienced by these women could not be explained by looking at race or gender alone. Instead, these oppressions occurred because the participants were Black and female (Borland & Bruening, 2010).

To study the impact of multiple oppressions like those found in Borland and Bruening's study, researchers have begun to use three multicultural-feminist theoretical approaches: additive, interactionist, and intersectionality (Szymanski & Moffitt, 2012). Szymanski and Moffitt (2012) emphasize that while these perspectives have a unique way of approaching multiple oppressions, they "are not contradictory with each other" (p. 12).

Additive Multiple-oppressions Approach

The first approach for investigating multiple oppressions and identities is the additive multiple-oppressions approach. The additive multiple-oppressions approach, or double jeopardy, suggests that the sociocultural identities of race and gender are independent of each other, and the direct effects of racism and sexism can be added together to determine the impact the multiple oppressions have on Black women's lives (Moradi & Subich, 2003; Szymanski & Moffitt, 2012). Based on this approach, there is an accumulation of disadvantage for each

minority identity, so that a Black woman is doubly disadvantaged when compared with a White woman or a Black male. Therefore, "theorists of this approach posit that each, individual oppression experienced by a person with more than one minority status (i.e., racism and sexism) is important and has direct effects that combine additively to negatively impact psychological health" (Szymanski & Stewart, 2010, p. 227).

To date, a lack of researchers in sport psychology and sport sociology implementing an additive multiple-oppression approach to investigating multiple oppressions is limiting the field. To apply this approach to a study on Black female coaches, the researcher would combine the negative effects of sexism and the negative effects of racism together additively to better understand the effects of the multiple oppressions. For example, researchers investigating job satisfaction in coaching would measure the relationship between job satisfaction and experiences of racism and sexism separately. These findings would then be added together to understand the effect of experiencing multiple oppressions.

Interactionist Multiple-oppression Approach

The second approach to understanding multiple oppressions is the interactionist multiple-oppression approach. The interactionist, or multiple jeopardy approach, builds off of the additive approach and considers the multiplicative effects of racism and sexism (Moradi & Subich, 2003). Within this approach, racism and sexism are still viewed as separate oppressions, but the interactionist perspective suggests that one form of oppression (e.g. racism) may intensify the effect of another form of oppression (e.g. sexism; Szymanski & Moffitt, 2012). Thus, individuals with more than one minority status will experience the direct effect (e.g. increased psychological distress) of each form of oppression as well as a multiplicative effect due to the interaction of these oppressions, which can result in additional deleterious mental health effects (Moradi &

Subich, 2003). Interactionist theorists agree that Black women will share common experiences with White women and Black men, but "they also recognize Black women's unique experiences based on the interactions of race and gender" (Szymanski & Stewart, 2010, p. 227).

Currently, researchers in sport psychology or sport sociology who use the interactionist multiple-oppression approach to study the impact multiple oppressions has on African American female coaches or athletes is scant. If an interactionist multiple-oppressions approach were to be used in a study on Black female coaches, the researcher would gather information about both racist and sexist events experienced by the coaches and qualitatively investigate the ways these events have impacted each other or quantitatively measure statistical interaction effects (race x gender) (Moradi & Subich, 2003; Szymanski & Moffitt, 2012). For example, those participants who score high on both experiences of interpersonal racism and sexism may have decreased coaching efficacy and increased turnover intentions at different levels than would be seen if you only considering the separate effects of experiences of interpersonal racism and experiences of interpersonal sexism.

Intersectionality Multiple-oppression Approach

The third approach for investigating multiple oppressions and identities is the intersectionality multiple-oppressions approach. The intersectionality approach suggests that a unique experience is produced from the joining of various social identities and oppressions and that these experiences can lead to decreased psychosocial health (Szymanski & Moffitt, 2012). Unlike the additive and interactionist approach, the theorists using an intersectionality multiple-oppression approach does not believe that each social identity of an individual functions separately and can be viewed as parts of a whole (Warner, 2008). Instead, the intersectionality perspective suggests that the unique position created at the intersection of multiple social

identities “may be different or greater than the sum of its parts” (Szymanski & Moffitt, 2012, p. 14). By taking intersectionality into account, theorists and researchers recognize that Black women experience oppression in the form of gendered racism because they are women of color and not because they have separate identities as women or a racial minority. Essed (1991) described gendered racism as the way sexism and racism interconnect and combine under certain conditions to form a single phenomenon. Gendered racism posits that “Black women are subject to unique forms of oppression due to their simultaneous ‘Blackness’ and ‘femaleness,’” and this oppression has a negative effect on the psychological distress of Black women (Thomas, Witherspoon, & Speight, 2008, p. 307).

In her original article on intersectionality, Crenshaw (1989) argued that, “because the intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism, any analysis that does not take intersectionality into account cannot sufficiently address the manner in which Black women are subordinated” (p. 139). For this reason, the present study will be conducted using an intersectionality approach.

The intersectionality multiple-oppression approach is the approach that is most often used within sport psychology and sociology research. Bruening (2004), Bruening, Armstrong, and Patore (2005), and Carter and Hart (2010), have all used an intersectionality approach to investigate ways gendered racism has impacted the experiences of Black female athletes in weight training programs, mentorship opportunities, and general sport participation, respectively. Additionally, Borland and Bruening (2010) examined the effects of gendered racism on the underrepresentation Black female head coaches in NCAA Division I women’s basketball. Each of these researchers recognized that the separation of experiences of racism and sexism was impossible, so they focused on the experience of each participant as a Black woman. The

coaches within the current study will be asked to discuss their experiences as Black female assistant coaches. To fully understand these experiences, it will be important to keep the uniqueness of being a Black woman intact and to recognize the presence of gendered racism within their narratives.

Coping with and Resisting Oppression

Though it has been suggested that internalized racial and gender identities can lessen the negative effects of the multiple oppressions experienced by Black female coaches, the strategies that women at all stages of identity development use to cope with and resist oppression warrant further discussion. Coping strategies are cognitive and behavioral techniques used by an individual in an attempt to manage a problem and the stress attached to that problem (Shorter-Gooden, 2004). When used appropriately, these strategies can work as a buffer against the negative effects (e.g. psychological distress) caused by racism, sexism, and gendered racism (Lewis, Mendenhall, Harwood, & Huntt, 2013). Some of the coping strategies used by Black women will be discussed below.

Black women appear to use a variety of coping strategies to resist the stresses related to racism, sexism, and gendered racism. Shorter-Gooden (2004) found that Black women use internal resources such as *resting on faith* (i.e. relying on prayer and spiritual beliefs), *standing on shoulders* (i.e. connection to their Black heritage and remembering ancestors who fought for racial equality), and *valuing oneself* (i.e. loving and respecting oneself and working to ignore the negative perceptions of Black women that society bombards them with). These internal resources "are worldviews or belief systems that help shape how the person feels about herself and how she defines her relationship to the larger world" and are used to determine what specific coping strategies to use based on the context she is in (Shorter-Gooden, 2004, p. 416). The participants

in Shorter-Gooden's study also reported using an external resource of *leaning on shoulders* (i.e. using social support) to cope with the ongoing stress of racism or sexism. Lastly, the participants mentioned specific coping strategies that they used to handle single situations of bias that may arise. These strategies include *role flexing* (i.e. altering one's behavior to better fit in the dominant group), *avoiding* (i.e. evading situations or conversations that will lead to racism or sexism), and *standing up and fighting back* (i.e. refusing to role flex or directly challenging sources of oppression).

Though Shorter-Gooden looked at the ways Black women coped with experiences of both racism and sexism, she did not investigate how these women resisted intersecting forms of oppression, such as gendered racism. Lewis et al. (2013) found that Black women used five coping strategies when faced with gendered racism. The participants in Lewis and colleagues' study used two resistance coping strategies, *using one's voice as power* (i.e. speaking up to address a microaggression and regain power) and *resisting Eurocentric standards of beauty* (i.e. resisting dominant ideologies about beauty that oppress Black women). Both of these are active strategies for dealing with oppressive situation (Lewis et al., 2013). As in Shorten-Gooden's study, the Black women in Lewis's study also reported using a collective coping strategy, *leaning on one's support network* (i.e. using a social support network). Finally, the participants implemented two self-protective coping strategies, *becoming a Black superwoman* (i.e. being strong, self-reliant, and take on a multitude of responsibilities) and *becoming desensitized and escaping* (i.e. downplaying the severity of and avoiding oppressive experiences). Both of these are inactive strategies used to lessen the stress of experiencing subtle gendered racism over a period of time (Lewis et al., 2013). These coping strategies are intended to help reduce the stress of gendered racism. However, strategies like *becoming a Black superwoman cognitive* and

cognitive/emotional debriefing coping (e.g. *becoming desensitized and escaping* and *avoiding*) can lead to heightened distress (Lewis et al., 2013; Thomas et al., 2008).

There are currently no studies within sport that investigate the ways Black female coaches cope with and resist racism, sexism, or gendered racism. Co-constructing narratives about coping with gendered racism is one way this dissertation study can add to the coaching literature.

Conclusion

Through the implementation of intervention programs, sport psychology consultants can play an integral role in reducing racism, sexism, and gendered racism and empowering Black female coaches in NCAA Division I women's basketball. By reducing these oppressions, sport psychology consultants will also be helping to reduce the negative effects of oppression currently experienced by Black female coaches (e.g. increased psychological distress, decreased job satisfaction, poor physical health and limited upward mobility), which in turn could reduce the likelihood of occupational turnover intentions and increase the career longevity of this population of coaches. With Black female coaches staying in coaching longer as well as the reduction of hiring discrimination due to interventions targeted at the perpetrators, sport psychology consultants could, in theory, help reduce the underrepresentation of Black female coaches in NCAA Division I women's basketball. While this hypothesis admittedly is an oversimplification of the dynamic processes involved in this phenomenon, I believe the hypothesis offers motivation for more sport psychology researchers and practitioners to study the intersection of multiple identities, to uncover the role that identity development plays in how individuals cope with oppressions, and to become an agent for social change.

Coach Identity

"The more one writes about this subject [identity] the more the word becomes a term for something as unfathomable as it is all-pervasive" (Erikson, 1968, p. 9). Like Erikson (1968), I am quick to state that I will not be able to give an all-encompassing and definitive explanation of identity and its related constructs in this paper. However, I will work to develop an argument for why an understanding of identity and self-concept is important in the context of NCAA Division I women's basketball in the United States especially when examining the experiences of Black female assistant coaches within this domain.

Personal Identity and Self-Concept

Erik Erikson: Theory of Identity and Psychosocial Development

Influenced by William James and Sigmund Freud, the "bearded and patriarchal fathers of the psychologies" (Erikson, 1968, p. 19), Erik Erikson began studying identity in the 1940's. While Freud's original theories focused on the id (i.e., the unconscious forces driving human behavior), Erikson shifted his focus to the ego (i.e., the location of conscious thought and planning) and "the relationship of this 'inner agency' to social life" (Erikson, 1968, p. 44). He is most known for developing an epigenetic principle of identity formation and for presenting this principle as a series of stages that occur across the lifespan. Erikson (1968) describes the epigenetic principle as one that "states that anything that grows has a ground plan, and that out of this ground plan the parts arise, each part having its time of special ascendancy, until all parts have arisen to form a functioning whole" (p. 92). Therefore, identity develops in stages as human organisms mature and are pushed to and capable of interacting with a wider variety of significant individuals and institutions. Each of the stages is related to all of the other stages and should occur in sequence to ensure proper identity development (Erikson, 1968).

During each stage, individuals are faced with challenges and a potential crisis due to a change in perspective by the individuals. Crisis, in Erikson's theory, does not mean a catastrophe; instead, it represents "a turning point, a crucial period of increased vulnerability and heighted potential, and therefore, the ontogenetic source of generational strength and maladjustment" (Erikson, 1968, p. 96). Erikson (1980) further explains that these crises are psychosocial in nature in that the psychological needs of the individual conflict with the needs of society. The eight stages of identity development based on Erikson's theory are Trust vs. Mistrust, Autonomy vs. Shame and Doubt, Initiative vs. Guilt, Industry vs. Inferiority, Identity vs. Identity Confusion, Intimacy vs. Isolation, Generativity vs. Stagnation, and Integrity vs. Despair.

Stage five, Identity vs. Identity Confusion, occurs in adolescence and has been the subject of much of the research on identity development, as it is during this stage that new identifications force the adolescent into making urgent decisions that lead to lifelong commitments (Erikson, 1968). With a focus on this stage of development, James Marcia extended Erikson's work with the creation of the identity status theory in the mid 1960's (Waterman, 1988).

James Marcia: Identity Status Theory

In the creation of the identity status theory, Marcia purposefully narrowed Erikson's complex, layered, and unfathomable definition of identity and described identity "as a self-structure – an internal, self-constructed, dynamic organization of drives, abilities, beliefs, and individual history" (Marcia, 1980, p. 159). Marcia (1980) reveals that individuals with a better developed self-structure are more aware of their likeness and difference to others and their personal strengths and weaknesses. In contrast, individuals with a less developed self-structure are more confused about the ways they compare to others and depend on external sources to

identify and clarify their own capabilities and place in the world. The underlying process through which this dynamic and fluid self-structure (i.e., identity) is developed was Marcia's primary research interest (Marcia, 1980).

Marcia chose to study this process in adolescence, not because adolescence marks the beginning or end of the identity process, but because late adolescence "is the first time that physical development, cognitive skills, and social experiences coincide to enable young persons to sort through and synthesize their childhood identifications in order to construct a viable pathway toward their adulthood" (Marcia, 1980, p. 160). Marcia (1980) expounds that if the identity structure is well-developed in adolescence, the individual will be open to changes in relationships and society as a whole and will face each future identity crisis (i.e., Erikson's stages six through eight) with an identity that is strengthened with each challenge. In adolescence, individuals commit to identity components such as sexual orientation, career directions, and ideological stances. Committing to these identity components involves the negation or affirmation of parental and societal expectations and of what they currently know and have been taught to believe and do (Marcia, 1980). Marcia describes the process of committing to an identity as gradual and nonconscious; individuals make decisions over time and these decisions, regardless of how trivial they seem at the time, begin to form the structure of their identity. The ways individuals make these decisions and resolve identity issues in late adolescence are described by the identity statuses: identity achievement, foreclosure, identity diffusion and moratorium (Marcia, 1980).

While these statuses were initially coined by Erikson and used by Marcia as constructs to empirically study Erikson's theory regarding identity, they have transformed into a theory of their own and now, are more commonly recognized and utilized in reference to Marcia's identity

status theory than to Erikson's theory of identity development (Waterman, 1988). The four identity statuses (i.e., identity achievement, foreclosure, identity diffusion and moratorium) are characterized by the presence or absence of an identity crisis (i.e., a decision-making period) and the extent of personal commitment by the individual to occupation and ideology (Marcia, 1980). Marcia's (1980) defines each of these statuses: Identity Achievements are those who have experienced an identity crisis and are pursuing the occupation and ideological goals that they have chosen for themselves. Foreclosures are individuals who have not experienced a crisis, and instead have committed to an occupation and ideology that was chosen by their parents or society. Identity diffusions are persons who may or may not have experienced a crisis and have not made occupational or ideological commitments. Lastly, moratoriums are young people who are currently in an identity crisis. These statuses are objective and measurable, so researchers can more easily identify the ways individuals are resolving identity crises and how these styles of dealing with the identity issues relate to personality characteristics and interpersonal interactions (Marcia, 1980). Furthermore, by studying identity statuses researchers can learn more about identity formation in terms of individuals' goals, values, and beliefs in a number of contexts (e.g. occupation and ideology), which was restricted by Erikson's more global perspective of identity formation (Waterman, 1988).

Herbert Marsh: A Multidimensional and Hierarchal Model of Self-Concept

Like identity, self-concept, while complex and multifaceted, is a term that "everybody knows what it is" (Marsh, 1990, p. 79). As a result, researchers often do not feel compelled to provide any theoretical definition of what they are measuring (Marsh, 1990). Marsh (1990) argues that prior to the 1980's, a lack of theoretically grounded research on self-concept led to unresolved issues concerning the nature of self-concept. Though early self-concept theorists such

as James (1890) and Shavelson (1976) theorized self-concept as a multidimensional construct, research findings failed to support these contentions (Marsh, 1990). In response to these discrepancies between theory and empirical research, Marsh worked and succeeded at providing empirical support for Shavelson, Hubner, and Stanton's (1976) multifaceted, hierarchal model of self-concept (Marsh, 1990).

Within Shavelson and colleagues (1976) model of self-concept, self-concept is defined as "a person's perceptions of himself" (p. 411). Marsh (1990) further clarifies that "these perceptions are formed through experience with and interpretations of, one's environment. They are especially influenced by evaluations by significant others, reinforcements, and attributions for one's own behavior" (p. 83). Shavelson and colleagues also identify seven major features of self-concept:

1. It is organized: Individuals create categories of the information they know about themselves and compare these categories to one another.
2. It is multifaceted: The different facets refer to a self-assigned category system taken up by an individual or group
3. It is hierarchical: The base is composed of the perceptions individuals have regarding their personal behaviors, the next level consists of perceptions about self in subareas (e.g., recruiting and in-game coaching components may contribute to coaching self-concept), and finally perceptions about the self in general are at the top of the hierarchical model.
4. The top of the model (I.e. general self-concept) is stable, but as one moves toward the base of the model, self-concept is less stable and more situation specific.
5. Self-concept becomes more multifaceted with age.
6. Self-concept can be descriptive (i.e. "I am tall") and evaluative ("I am a good coach").

7. Self-concept can be separated from other constructs such as achievement measures (see pp. 411-415).

With the development and validation of his Self-Description Questionnaire (SDQ) instruments, Marsh (1990) provided support for Shavelson et al.'s multifaceted, hierarchal model of self-concept. The research described in Marsh's 1990 review offers evidence that general self-concept is not a useful construct for demonstrating individual differences; instead, to better understand the complexity of self and predict behaviors, the specific context and an individual's self-concept within that context must be considered.

A Critique of Erikson, Marcia, and Marsh: The Sons of Patriarchal Psychology

While Erikson, Marcia, and Marsh have expanded psychology's understanding of identity and self-concept, they have done so from a White, male voice. Erikson's identity theory accounts primarily for the identity development across male lifespans, and when Erikson's identity theory and Marcia's identity status theory are applied to women, the results "work only more or less" (Marcia, 1980, p.179). Marsh based his research on a model that looked at "a person's perceptions of *himself*" (emphasis added), and although Marsh did investigate gender differences, he explained these differences by indicating that the "sex differences in specific stereotypes tends to be consistent with traditional sex stereotypes" (Marsh, 1990, p. 103). He failed to consider what social factors could have influenced these differences; question whether the ways the SDQ was normed could have had an effect on the outcomes; or wrestle with the ways the construction of the SDQ instruments could have been influenced by those same sex stereotypes. Gilligan (1982) clearly articulates why findings indicating sex differences in psychology studies such as the ones conducted by Marcia and March can be detrimental to women:

> Since it is difficult to say ‘different’ without saying ‘better’ or ‘worse,’ since there is a tendency to construct a single scale of measurement, and since that scale had generally been derived from and standardized on the basis of men’s interpretations of research data drawn predominantly or exclusively from studies of males, psychologists [according to McClelland, 1975] “have tended to regard male behavior as the ‘norm’ and female behavior as some kind of deviation from that norm” (p.81 as cited in Gilligan, 1982, p. 14).

Therefore, sex differences indicate that something is amiss with the women.

Additionally, racial identity and the effects this can have on personal identity was at most an afterthought to Erikson, Marcia, and Marsh: Erikson included a short chapter on race and ethnicity at the end of *Identity: Youth and Crisis*; Marcia mentioned one study that investigated ethnocentricity in his 1980 review article; and Marsh makes no mention of race or ethnicity in his 97-page review article published in 1990.

In a Better Voice

Gilligan (1982) argues that “different” voices need to be heard when talking about human development. While failures for women to fit the existing models of identity and self-concept have been explained as a problem in women’s development, Gilligan attests that this failure should instead “point to a problem in the representation, a limitation in the conception of human condition, an omission of certain truths about life” (p. 2). She further explains that only by empirically studying women and listening to them tell stories about their own experiences and thoughts can researchers truly begin to describe the development of women as individuals in a social context impacted by the matrices of privilege and power. Although Gilligan presents contrasts between male and female voices, her larger goal is to demonstrate that within

psychology at large, there is a problem with interpretation. Therefore, her arguments can help lead to a recognition that a variety of voices, like those of Black female assistant coaches, need to be heard if we are to better understand the experiences of these individuals, and theories of identity that better frame the development of women, African Americans, and most specifically, Black women should be used when studying this population. Gilligan makes the case for including a different voice in research. I am arguing that in addition to being different, the voices of Black women and theorists who have added to the development of identity in these women are better voices for the purposes of learning about the experiences of the participants in my study.

William Cross: Expanded Nigrescence Theory

One theory that was created to explore the identity development of Black and insert a Black voice into identity and could be used as a way for exploring identity in Black female assistant coaches is Cross's (2001) Expanded Nigrescence Theory. Cross first introduced his Nigrescence model in 1971 as a way to explain the stages of Black consciousness development (Cross & Vandiver, 2001). Due to a multitude of empirical studies over the next thirty years, Cross made multiple revisions to the model and presented the expanded Nigrescence theory in 2001 (Vandiver et al., 2002). Vandiver and colleagues (2002) explain that the main changes from the original version to the expanded version were based on the differentiation between personal identity and reference group orientation and their influence on self-concept and the number of stages and identities within them.

Expanded Nigrescence theory is based on the assumption that self-concept consists of two distinct parts, a general personality which is known as the personal identity and a reference group orientation (RGO) which is known as the social identity (Cross & Vandiver, 2001). Cross and Vandiver further explain that each of these components are multidimensional and form a

matrix; the personal identity matrix consists of traits and psychological processes that make up the personalities of individuals while the cells of the social identity matrix consist of the social groups that an individual has been ascribed to by their own choosing or by society. A key in expanded Nigrescence theory is that Black identity is never defined by the personal identity matrix (Vandiver et al., 2002). Instead, Cross and Vandiver (2001) emphasize that

> to study *Black identity* refers to the way a person thinks about (cognitive component of identity), feels (evaluative component of identity that also includes tastes and preferences), and acts (behavioral component of identity) in reference to one cell or a subset of cells in a RGO Matrix. (p. 373)

Thus, the number of cells (social groups) engaged in the development of a Black identity will affect the type of identity that is developed (e.g. nationalist, biculturalist, multiculturalist) in the final stage of Black identity development (Cross & Vandiver, 2001).

Within the expanded Nigrescence model, there are four stages of Black racial identities, *Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion,* and *Internalization,* and eight racial identities (Vandiver et al., 2002). The first stage of the expanded Nigrescence model is the *Pre-Encounter* stage, and it contains three identities: Assimilation, Miseducation, and Self-Hatred (Cross & Vandiver, 2001). Individuals with an Assimilation identity have a social identity that is pro-American, and their race has little salience to them (Vandiver, Fhagen-Smith, & Cokley, 2001). Individuals with this identity can either be passive and simply choose not to engage with Black culture or be more active and work to eliminate programs that are viewed as "race-based" and show contempt for all-Black groups and Black culture (Cross & Vandiver, 2001). The Pre-Encounter Miseducation identity depicts a Black individual who has been subjected to historical distortions and stereotypes about Black culture and believes the inaccuracies they have been

taught. This learning leads them to view the Black community in a negative light (Vandiver et al., 2001). The last identity in the *Pre-Encounter* stage, Self-Hatred, describes Black individuals who have strong negative feelings about themselves because of their race. This identity is the only identity in this stage that has negative relationship with the self-esteem of a person (Vandiver et al., 2002). Therefore, Black female coaches who have a Pre-Encounter Self-Hatred identity may have lower coaching efficacy because they have been subjected to the negative stereotypes about Black coaches and now have negative beliefs about their abilities to coach.

The *Encounter* stage is the second stage of the expanded Nigrescence theory and is the only stage with no separate identities because it is considered a *proces*s rather than a status (Cross & Vandiver, 2001). During the *Encounter* stage, individuals have experiences or gain knowledge that increases their awareness of racial oppression which results in changes their current outlook and the way they see the world around them (Harrison Jr, Harrison, & Moore, 2002). The *Encounter* stage depicts the process of reevaluating one's social identity. Vandiver and colleagues (2002) further explain that "if the cognitive and emotional discomfort produced by this reexamination is sufficiently intense, individuals move to the *Immersion-Emersion* stage" (p. 72).

The *Immersion-Emersion* stage has two identities: Intense Black Involvement and Anti-White (Vandiver et al., 2002). The Immersion-Emersion Intense Black Involvement identity depicts people who are interested only in objects and topics that are relevant to Blackness. While this identity can lead people to learn a great deal about Black culture (Vandiver et al., 2001), the Intense Black Involvement identity can also lead to "Blacker-than-thou social interactions with other Blacks" and a Pro-Black/Anti-Black mentality with complex issues (Cross & Vandiver, 2001). The Anti-White identity describes Black individuals who have a profound rage against

White America and have an anti-White attitude. These individuals are unlikely to overtly act out their hatred toward White people in today's society, but Black people with an Anti-White identity may fantasize about hurting White people (Vandiver et al., 2001).

The final stage of the expanded Nigrescence theory, *Internalization*, has three identities: Nationalist, Biculturalist, and Multiculturalist (Vandiver et al., 2002). The Internalization Nationalist identity portrays individuals who only connect with the Black cell in their social identity matrix (Cross & Vandiver, 2001). These individuals are aware of Black history and culture and focus on Black empowerment and economic equity. The Internalization Nationalist identity goes beyond the Black Involvement identity and serves a positive role for those who have internalized this identity (Vandiver et al., 2001). Unlike the Nationalist identity, the Internalization Biculturalist identity depicts Black individuals who connect with both the Black and American cells in their social identity matrix and engages Black culture and mainstream American culture (Cross & Vandiver, 2001). Racial and national identities are balanced and not romanticized like they are in the *Immersion-Emersion* stage or *Pre-Encounter* stage, respectively (Vandiver et al., 2001). The final identity of the expanded Nigrescence theory, Internalization Multiculturalist, describes Black people who connect with three or more of their social identities and give equal weight to each identity when making a decision. While being Black is still a salient part of their identity, they can also appreciate other cultures and look to find a way to stop multiple oppressions (Cross & Vandiver, 2001). Black individuals who have reached *Internalization* are able to reject negative stereotypes and anti-Black attitudes and can "concentrate on issues beyond the parameters of a personal sense of Blackness" (Vandiver et al., 2001, p. 180).

Black coaches who are in the *Internalization* stage will be more likely to cast-off the stereotypes that label Black coaches as only useful in recruiting and actively work to take on a wide variety of coaching responsibilities. They may also be less likely to be negatively affected by the multiple oppressions that they face and will be able to combat these oppressions at an organizational and institutional level. Supporting this assertion, Szymanski and Lewis (2015) found that Immersion-Emersion Anti-White, Internalization Afrocentricity (i.e. Intense Black involvement), and Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive were unique positive predictors of involvement in Black activism among Black undergraduate students. Furthermore, more they found that both Immersion-Emersion Anti-White and Internalization Afrocentricity attitudes mediated the institutional race-related stress to activism link and Internalization Afrocentricity attitudes mediated the cultural race-related stress to activism link.

Kimberlee Crenshaw: Intersectional Identity Theory

Cross and Vandiver (2001) point out that using the expanded Nigrescence theory to study Black identity "does not begin to exhaust the total number of cells contained in a person's RGO matrix" (p. 374). Consequently, the cells connected to gender identity are often overlooked. According to Crenshaw (1989) and an intersectional approach to identity theory, this is problematic because a unique experience is produced from joining multiple social identities. Based on intersectional identity theory, the social identities of individuals cannot function separately and be viewed as parts of a whole (Warner, 2008). As explained in the previous section, the intersectionality perspective suggests that the unique position created at the intersection of multiple social identities "may be different or greater than the sum of its parts" (Szymanski & Moffitt, 2012, p. 14). By taking intersectionality into account, theorists and researchers recognize that Black women experience oppression in the form of gendered racism

because they are women of color and not because they have separate identities as women or a racial minority. Essed (1991) described gendered racism as the way sexism and racism interconnect and combine under certain conditions to form a single phenomenon. Gendered racism posits that "Black women are subject to unique forms of oppression due to their simultaneous 'Blackness' and 'femaleness,'" and this oppression has a negative effect on the psychological distress of Black women (Thomas, Witherspoon, & Speight, 2008, p. 307).

In her original article on intersectionality, Crenshaw (1989) argued that, "because the intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism, any analysis that does not take intersectionality into account cannot sufficiently address the manner in which Black women are subordinated" (p. 139). For this reason, in the present study, I will be using an intersectionality approach. The coaches within this study will be asked to discuss their experiences as Black female assistant coaches. To fully understand these experiences, it will be important to keep the uniqueness of being a Black woman in tact and to recognize the presence of gendered racism within their narratives.

Janet Helms: Womanist Identity Model

Helms's (1990) Womanist identity model allows researchers the opportunity to implement Crenshaw's intersectionality approach into an identity development model. The Womanist identity model is a model of gender-related identity development, but it can be applied to women across social identity groups (Ossana, Helms, & Leonard, 1992). Thus, Moradi (2005) asserts that using this model "has the potential to move beyond its original focus on a single aspect of identity (i.e. gender) to capture the diversity and complexity of women's self-concepts as shaped by multiple personal and group identities" (p. 226). In the dissertation study, the Womanist identity model could allow for a better understanding of how gender identity

development impacts the experiences of racism, sexism, and gendered racism the participants encounter as Black female coaches.

The Womanist identity model, which is highly influenced by Cross's Nigrescense theory, is comprised of four stages that Helms (1990) labeled Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization (Parks, Carter, & Gushue, 1996). As a woman progresses through the stages, she is moving from passively accepting the external definitions of what it means to be a woman and moving to the active process of creating her own definition of womanhood (Carter & Parks, 1996). Ossana et al. (1992), Carter and Parks (1996), and Moradi (2005) have all outlined the stages of the womanist identity development model. Based on their descriptions, the women in the Preencounter stage conform to society's beliefs about gender, accept traditional gender roles without question, and behave in ways that undervalue women and benefit men. The women in this stage are also blind to societal oppression against women. As a woman comes into contact with new information and/or experiences that challenge her current worldview by calling her attention to the unjustness of society against women or increases the importance of her womanhood, she moves to the Encounter stage. During this stage, women begin to question societal norms and find new ways to view the roles men and women play in society. The third stage of the Womanist identity model, Immersion-Emersion, consists of two phases. Women in the first phase of Immersion-Emersion actively reject the male-constructed definitions of gender and societal norms and begin to romanticize the female gender. During the second phase of Immersion-Emersion, women search for a positive model of womanhood and seek out strong interpersonal relationships with other women. In the culminating stage of the Womanist identity model, Internalization, women develop "a positive definition of womanhood based on personal attributes, views other women and their shared experiences as a source of information

concerning the role of women, but refuses to be bound by external definitions of womanhood" (Ossana et al., 1992, p. 403).

Scholars have pointed out the usefulness of the Womanist identity model for counseling, but it can also be useful in the analysis of the experiences of Black women in coaching. Women in the Internalization stage of the Womanist identity model have greater self-esteem, life satisfaction, and self-efficacy while women in the Preencounter and Immersion-Emersion stages had lower self-esteem and self-efficacy and a higher external locus of control (Moradi, 2005). Moradi (2005) further cited research that found the Preencounter stage to be negatively related to flexible attitudes about the roles and rights of women and positively related to sexist attitudes; in contrast, the Internalization stage was positively related to flexible attitudes about the roles and rights of women and negatively related to sexist attitudes. Based on these findings, Black coaches who have reached the Internalization stage of the Womanist identity model may be better at coping with and resisting the oppression of gendered racism. On the other hand, the coaches who have yet to reach their own definition of what it means to be a Black woman may fully experience the negative effects of the oppression they face. Coaches in the Internalization stage will also be in a better position to serve as positive role models for the women they coach. Throughout the narrative analysis involved it this study, it will be important to pay close attention to the subtle ways the participants discuss their social identity development in order to determine the role this development plays in their experiences as Black female assistant women's basketball coaches.

Judith Butler: Theory of Gender Performativity

Breaking from identity development models, Judith Butler (1988) takes a poststructuralist stance and argues that identity is created through a *stylized repetition of acts*…the mundane way

in which bodily gestures, movements, and enactments of various kinds constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self " (p. 519). In this way, gender is performative (i.e. an act) (Butler, 1990). Butler (1988) uses the simile of a script to help readers understand that while individuals can have nuanced ways of doing gender, the role of gender is in place before a subject is born and is constructed within regulative discourses:

> Just as a script may be enacted in various ways, and just as the play requires both text and interpretation, so the gendered body acts its part in a culturally restricted corporeal space and enacts interpretations within the confines of already existing directives. (p. 526)

Butler (1988) further explains that since gender is a performative, which consists of the reproduction of norms that are socially constructed and come before and go beyond the performer, there can be no true gender identity. Instead, gender is a social policy that is used for regulation and control (Butler, 1990).

Butler's theory of gender performativity leads to several questions that may arise during my dissertation research. What performances are necessary for Black female assistant coaches in Division I basketball? How can these women resist the oppressions caused by the cultural fictions of race and gender created within this context?

Lynn Layton: Postmodern Gender Theory and Relational Practices

Another voice that will influence this dissertation project is Lynn Layton's (1998) take on identity. While Layton views Butler's (1990, 1993) work as important and influential to the work Layton does, Layton attests that identity is more than an effect of discourse (Layton, 2002). In her theorizing on identity, Layton (1998) works to bridge postmodern theory and psychoanalytic relational practices despite the seemingly contradictory ways of thinking theorists and clinicians in these two fields have used. Layton (2002) maintains that it is possible to view an individual

both as a position in discourse (i.e. the postmodern view) and as a being who has been shaped by relationships and has the ability to shape discourses (i.e. the psychoanalytic relational view). In her own words, she states:

> I will define the self/subject/individual as neither a true self nor fully determined by existent discursive positions but rather as a continuously evolving negotiator between relationally constructed multiple and contradictory internal and external worlds. We are both subject to these worlds and create them as we engage in current relations with intimates, groups, and the social environment. (Layton, 1998, p. 26)

Though individuals are impacted by their race and gender and the power differentials that are tied to these identities, they still create their own meaning regarding these discursive positions (Layton, 2002). Layton (1998) further contends that the individual and the discursive levels are not static; instead, they are "mutually negotiated and renegotiated" (p. 27).

One of the main concerns with Layton's conception of identity and one of the concerns for my own study is determining ways to account for the influence of society while not reducing the subject to a socially determined being and ways to account for the uniqueness of human subjectivity while keeping that subjectivity in its social and historical context (Layton, 2008). Layton (2008) suggests studying the power structures and hierarchies that establish racism and sexism and the way these hierarchies devalue others and split human capacities into raced and gendered capacities and then, further investigating how individuals either seek to maintain those splits or refute them. For the purposes of my dissertation study, I will be examining the ways gendered racism is used to limit the roles that are assigned to Black female assistant coaches and exploring how individuals with similar socially constructed identities negotiate their positions

within this context. This will allow me to hopefully study both the socially constructed aspects of their identity as Black women and their personally constructed identity.

Cultural Sport Psychology and Identity Negotiations

While much of sport psychology is based in the traditional scientific paradigms of positivism and postpositivism, cultural sport psychology has made the call to implement more diverse theoretical perspectives (Fisher, Roper, & Butryn, 2009; McGannon & Johnson, 2009). Researchers like Ted Butryn, Leslee Fisher, Diane Gill, Vikki Krane, and Kerry McGannon, just to name a select few, have answered this call (Kavoura, Ryba, & Chroni, 2015). By shifting from a positivist perspective to a postmodern or poststructuralist perspective, sport psychology researchers can study identity as multiple, fragmented, and contextually determined rather than static and unchangeable (Fisher, Roper, & Butryn, 2009). Fisher and colleagues further expand that by expanding the theoretical perspectives in sport psychology research on identity, we can study the role power dynamics also play in individuals' constructions of self.

Additionally within cultural sport psychology, it is important to study how athletes and coaches construct and negotiate multiple identities. The participants in my study might identify as coaches, Black women, former athletes, first-generation college graduates, upper-class, and a variety of other identities that serve a different purpose for positioning these women in their current context as an NCAA Division I Black female assistant women's basketball coach, and it will be important for me as a researcher to understand how she constructs her identity through the negotiation of sociocultural beliefs and gendered and raced stereotypes. Krane and Barber (2005) and Kavoura, Ryba, and Chroni (2015) provide examples for ways to critically analyze these negotiations.

Krane and Barber (2005) interviewed 13 lesbian college coaches from a variety of levels. The investigators were primarily interested in the ways these women negotiated the two social identities of coach and lesbian especially since lesbians are often not accepted in women's sports. Krane and Barber found that the coaches negotiated the conflict of being a lesbian and a coach through *compartmentalizing* (i.e., separated professional situations from personal situations), *rationaling* (i.e., explaining their reasons for acting the way they do in regards to their lesbian identity), and feeling *conflicted* (i.e., wanting to be honest, but being afraid of the consequences of that honesty). Krane and Barber concluded that the women in their study used the identity negotiations to find ways to counter the heterosexism faced in the coaching context and create social change.

In a more recent study, Kavoura and colleagues (2015) interviewed 10 high-level Greek judokas. The investigators were interested in the ways the "female Greek judokas construct gender and negotiate identity, having to face the patriarchal beliefs of their coaches and being themselves subjected to the dominant gender stereotypes in Greece" (p. 91). Kavoura and colleagues found that the judokas drew upon five discourses (i.e. *female biological inferiority, a patriarchy, ideal femininity*, *alternative femininity*, and *performance*) to construct multiple identities. Each of these identities served a purpose and positioned the female judokas in different ways. The participants used the *naturally strong woman* identity to separate themselves from ordinary, weak women. The participants constructed a *persistent woman* identity to cope with the inequalities they faced, and while this positioned the women as active agents, they still respected the gender order. The *successful and feminine athlete* identity positioned those judokas who were feminine by traditional standards in a place of superiority. The judokas constructed *the internally feminine athlete* identity to break from the discourse of ideal femininity while making

femininity an internal quality. Lastly, the silent and committed warrior identity functions to allow the judokas to demand respect within the sport of judo while remaining silent and loyal to the status quo. The findings from this study demonstrated that the language and cultural discourses within judo and Greek society construct the experiences and identity negotiations of the female judokas. The authors concluded that while the identity negotiations used by the female judokas allowed them to adapt, be accepted, and be successful in the patriarchal sport of judo, it also led the Greek judokas to "become agents in the reproduction of gender power dynamics. Subjected to dominant gender beliefs and stereotypes, the participants accept the male way as the only way" (Kavoura, Ryba, & Chroni, 2015). In true cultural sport psychology fashion, Kavoura and colleagues finished their discussion by offering recommendations for using this information to promote social change.

Social Justice: A Call for Praxis

Two of the six essential characteristics of works grounded in cultural sport psychology are: (a) the work is concerned with social difference, power dynamics, and social justice; and (b) the work is focused on praxis (Ryba, Schinke, & Tenenbaum, 2010). Throughout this response, I have discussed ways that I will be investigating social difference and power dynamics in the construction of identity. In the following section (which was written as a part of a previous exam question), I will outline how I will apply the knowledge that is gained from this study using a variety of techniques because learning about the ways my participants construct and negotiate identities is important and will extend the literature, but this is not enough. Social change is my ultimate goal.

Interventions for Perpetrators

Though not an exhaustive list of possible intervention strategies, three intervention strategies can be directed at male and White perpetrators of oppression in the sport context by sport psychology consultants: (a) providing educational opportunities; (b) strengthening prosocial norms; (c) taking part in social advocacy. These three strategies have been taken and adapted from a more extensive list of global intervention strategies offered by Szymanski and Moffitt (2012).

When beginning an intervention program with men and White persons about gendered racism, providing educational opportunities is essential. The desired learning outcomes for the perpetrators taking part in these opportunities include: increased awareness of the perpetrators' attitudes and biases toward Black women; a better understanding of the perpetrators' own social identities; recognition of the privilege the perpetrators possess and an understanding that this privilege is sustained by society; the ability to identify types of gendered racist behaviors; and lastly, acquiring skills to challenge and stop oppressive behaviors as they are happening. A sport psychology consultant could have perpetrators participate in a privilege walk; complete an identity wheel; find examples gendered racism in news stories involving Black female athletes and coaches; and role play situations in which they discourage others from using offensive language about race and gender and offer suggestions for using more inclusive language to accomplish the learning outcomes of the intervention program.

Sport psychology consultants can also help strengthen prosocial norms as an intervention strategy targeting perpetrators of gendered racism. With this type of intervention, the goal is to "[create] a dominant culture of safety and respect, tolerance, and affirmation" (Szymanski & Moffitt, 2012, p. 20). A sport psychology consultant can accomplish this by empowering peer

and community leaders within athletic departments and encouraging them to participate in group discussions and programs that inform other members of the athletic department about the negative effects of gendered racism and to champion respect and civility. The Men 4 Men program at the University of Missouri is an example of a program that is implementing this type of intervention strategy and can be used as a model for other athletic departments. (Mizzou Network, 2015)

Lastly, sport psychology consultants can be social advocates as a way to reduce and prevent gendered racism. Sport psychology consultants within college athletics can work to ensure that male and female athletes are being treated equitably and file formal complaints if the athletic department is not upholding the requirements of Title IX. Consultants can also request to be a part of athletic department hiring committees to ensure that Black female applicants are given an equal opportunity at open positions. Sport psychology consultants can also encourage men and White persons take part in sociopolitical initiatives such as boycotting companies that engage in gendered racist practices.

Interventions for Targets

Sport psychology consultants can also implement interventions for Black female coaches (i.e. the targets of oppression) to help reduce the negative effects of the gendered racism they routinely face. Possible intervention strategies include: (a) educating targets; (b) building on the targets' strengths when developing coping strategies; and (c) allowing targets to tell and rewrite their stories. These global intervention strategies were originally offered by Szymanski and Moffitt (2012) and have been adapted here to better fit the sport context.

Like with the interventions for the perpetrators, education is a key first step in interventions presented to Black females by sport psychology consultants. This type of

intervention can come in the form of a workshop, printed materials, or information from websites and social media. The purposes of the educational intervention include: helping Black women gain a better understanding of their multiple social identities and the pervasiveness and negative effects of gendered racism and encouraging Black women to critically interrogate the White, male-dominated structures in society. Education is especially important for Black female coaches because they have a greater likelihood of experiencing oppression in the male-dominated profession of coaching in college athletics.

A second intervention strategy is using the targets' strength when identifying useful coping strategies. This strategy involves sport psychology consultants working with Black females to discover what coping strategies have worked well for them in the past and building off of these experiences. Black women can also work to develop moderators and mediators that will allow them to better cope with the oppressions that they face. These can include self-esteem, sense of control, and the internalization of racial and gender identities (Szymanski & Moffitt, 2012). Sport psychology consultants can also encourage Black female coaches to take action to combat the multiple oppressions they experience and gain a sense of empowerment. With this type of intervention program, sport psychology consultants may want to collaborate with a sport psychologist to ensure that they are staying within their realm of competency.

Allowing Black women to tell and rewrite their stories is a third type of intervention strategy that can be used to reduce the prevalence of gendered racism. This strategy highlights the importance of sport psychology consultants asking the targets questions about their experiences of gendered racism much like what will be done in the interviews for the dissertation study. This allows for open dialogue about how their experiences are similar to others and can help the targets feel better about the difficulties they have faced as a result of the sport context. It

is also important to empower Black women by helping them become aware of the power they do have within the sport context. They have the power to change the experiences of future Black female coaches by mentoring student athletes, which Borland and Bruening (2010) found was an important part of coaching for Black female assistant coaches. They can also join an association like the Black Coaches Association and work for change as part of a larger group (Borland & Bruening, 2010).

Section 4: Extended Methodology

Introduction

In this chapter, I begin by positioning myself as a researcher, reflecting on my past research experiences, and being reflexive about the ways this position will affect the current study. Then, I outline the theoretical framework the current study is based in. This is followed by a description of my epistemological and ontological beliefs and the relationship between these beliefs and narrative inquiry. Next, I provide a brief history of contemporary narrative inquiry and define this methodology within sport psychology. I conclude this chapter by explaining how narrative inquiry will be used throughout the current study.

Positionality

Every Sunday my grandmother (Maw-maw) made dinner for her three sons and their families. By the time I was in my early twenties, I was eating Sunday dinner with close to twenty family members. It was around this table that I learned a great deal about who I was and who my family was. Around this table, I learned about hate and love, intolerance and acceptance, and fear and hope. I learned what it meant to be a Larsen. While I am proud of being a part of my family, I am also proud of myself for defining and developing what it means to be Leslie Kaye Larsen. For the purposes of this positionality statement, I explore my personal identity development in regards to my race, socioeconomic status, gender, and sexual orientation as these are the identities that are most salient to me and relevant to the current study. I also explore how my past experiences as a student and a professional have shaped my research interests and prepared me to be an effective researcher. Ivey, Ivey, and Zalaquett (2010) recommend that you must understand yourself as a cultural being before you can gain an understanding of those with different cultural backgrounds. I am a White, upper middle-class, female who identifies as a

lesbian. I will briefly discuss how each of these characteristics and my previous experiences have affected my worldview and what role they could potentially play in my work as a narrative inquirer.

Race. First, I address my "whiteness" and what it means to me. I grew up on the "White side" of a Southern town that was racially segregated by railroad tracks. I heard racial slurs from some members of my family on a regular basis. I knew what color my skin was, but from a young age, I refused to let anyone convince me that having darker skin was a problem. My best friend in elementary school was a Black girl. I did not think anything of this friendship until I had to make a stand of defiance against my Maw-maw, the most influential member of my family, to call her my best friend. Maw-maw was fine with this girl being my friend; she thought I should find a White girl to be my best friend though. Usually, no one argued with Maw-maw, but I decided my best friend was worth an argument. Maw-maw eventually accepted that I was going to base my decisions about who my best friend should be on personality traits and interests and not on race. I never changed her mind on the topic, but she respected me for fighting for what I thought was right and being as stubborn as she was.

Today, the majority of my female friends in the coaching community are Black women. One advantage of these friendships is the ability to have very open dialogues about how our experiences have differed because of our racial differences. Over the years, I have become very aware of my "invisible knapsack" of white privilege and the advantages it provides (McIntosh, 1988). I have attended events and been the "minority race" in that space for short periods of time, and I always felt slightly uncomfortable and like I was always being watched. However, once the event was over, I could return to being comfortable and in the majority. I know I cannot relate to consistently being a racial minority and experiencing the stress and constant supervision

that goes along with it or understand the toll that being unable to return to a position of privilege takes on a person on a daily basis. I can continue to work on being aware of my whiteness, recognizing ways it affects my worldview, and how it affects others' views of me is a start.

Despite becoming aware of my privilege, I still prided myself on being colorblind when interacting with people of a different race. I now realize that by refusing to see color, I was also refusing to see the oppression that racial minorities face, and I was refusing to accept that I was a part of an oppressive system (Sue et al., 2007). When I heard stories of racial minorities who could not find a job, I would blame the individuals for not working hard enough instead of interrogating the larger economic system. I wanted to believe that I had a job because I worked hard, not because of my race. Until my time at UT, I failed to connect my privilege to the oppression of others, but now I know that you cannot have one without the other. It is important to see racial differences, and it will be important to ask culturally attuned questions to learn how race has played a role in the lives of my participants.

In addition to what I have learned in the classroom, some of my past experiences working directly with athletes have taught me invaluable lessons. My first year as a coach at Arkansas State, I was told one of our players was going to be the first person in her family to graduate from college. When I asked her about it, she believed that I only asked her that question because she was Black. Race, by no means, had anything to do with my original question. However, when I heard about her reaction to my question, I attributed her reaction to her race. Although I apologized at the time, I did not believe I was in the wrong. I thought she overreacted. I now understand that the athlete viewed my comment as a form of microaggression. Regardless of what I meant by the comment, how she understood it is the only thing that should have mattered, and she deserved a sincere apology from me. By taking a closer look at this experience, I realize

the necessity for intentionality and awareness when dealing with the Black female assistant coaches in my study because statements that I make or even the body language I use are being viewed through a different lens than the one I am looking through.

During my time as a coach, I also began to recognize hiring trends in NCAA Division I women's basketball especially with assistant coaching positions. Young Black women were highly sought after to fill empty positions. Head coaches would call the other coaches in their network and explicitly ask about which Black female assistant coaches were open to changing schools and out of those available, who was good at recruiting and connecting with players, as these were the only skills that really mattered for the position they would be filling. I initially saw this as an advantage for Black women, but I now better understand the role that these hiring practices play in the oppressive system created within NCAA Division I women's basketball coaching. Once these women took their new positions, many that I worked with directly or spoke with were only expected to excel at recruiting and were not challenged to develop new coaching skills. This left them unprepared to successfully advance to head coaching positions. Becoming aware of the oppressive system that was operating in NCAA Division I women's basketball led me to the research questions for the current study. I believe the stories that my participants and I create can help change the system for the better.

Socioeconomic status. In addition to being White, I am from an upper middle-class family. Growing up, I never had to worry about when I would get my next meal or if the electricity and water would be working. I knew I would get new school clothes at the end of summer and Santa Clause would come on Christmas Eve. My parents were able to pay for me to participate on a competitive traveling softball team and in basketball leagues. We took family vacations almost every year. My parents encouraged me to go to college and to pursue a

Master's Degree. I was able to buy a house when I was 24 because my parents helped pay for both college and graduate school. All of these examples further demonstrate my level of privilege. The majority of my friends were on the same socioeconomic level, so I did not know the extent of these privileges. Everything we had just seemed normal. Like with my whiteness, it is important for me to recognize these advantages and determine the impact they could have on my role as a researcher.

During my time at Arkansas State, I worked with athletes from a broad spectrum of socioeconomic statuses, and it opened my eyes to my privilege. All of the athletes had to pay a $100 housing deposit before they could move into the dorms. My family would have written the check and not given it a second thought. However, for a lot of the athletes, this was a major concern and required them to make sacrifices in other areas of their lives. I have heard stories from some of my peers at UT about the financial struggles their families faced while they were growing up. These stories made me more aware of the advantages I have experienced. I also now better understand why so many of the incoming freshmen that I coached from working or working poor classes did not make their classes a priority which often frustrated me. The value in a college degree was not based on what they could learn; instead, the value was based on how the degree would help them get a secure job in the future (Szymanski, 2014). "C's get degrees," is a phrase that I often heard from my athletes. As long as they were making C's, they were content with their progress. As a researcher in the current study, I must consider how socioeconomic class has shaped the narratives that the participants tell as well as how I interpret them as we co-construct meaning together (Riessman, 2008).

My race and social class have granted me a great deal of privilege, but due to other aspects of my identity (gender and sexual orientation), I have also experienced oppression.

Although I can readily accept and address my positions of privilege, I find it much more difficult to admit and discuss times when I have been oppressed. This can be explained, in part, by my knowledge of the amount of oppression others around me have faced, and I do not want them or anyone else to think I feel sorry for myself. Admitting I have been oppressed also means that I am admitting I did not have power in those situations. While this is true, I find it difficult to accept not being in control and lacking power. Working through some of these thoughts throughout my time at UT has been very beneficial to me. I am beginning to step out of the shame that I experienced as a result of my oppression and into a new position of power as an aware individual. As a result of this new position, I am better equipped to not only help myself fight the oppression that I will continue to face, but I am also better equipped to possibly help others recognize areas in their lives where they have been oppressed, openly discuss what impact this oppression has had, and work with them to find ways to overcome all forms of oppression.

Gender. As a young girl, I played with the boys in the neighborhood and always fought, literally and figuratively, to prove I was just as capable as they were. However, when I was old enough to play organized football, I was given a cheerleading uniform and pushed to the sideline. My parents warned me about all the bad things that could happen to me if I ever went anywhere alone. Yet, I never heard them have similar conversations with my brother. My dad and brother often sexually objectified women in front of me, and my mom was constantly concerned about her weight. My grandma also emphasized the importance of wearing makeup and dressing like a girl, so I could get a boyfriend. I internalized these cultural standards of what women should look like and how they should behave. I did not want to wear makeup or tight clothes, but when I did was reinforced with compliments and praise. I struggled with this because I did not feel like I was being true to myself when I performed these gender appropriate

behaviors (Butler, 1988), but when I was myself, I felt wrong for not meeting society's standards of a "real" woman.

Oftentimes, the male athletes at Arkansas State were slow to respond if I asked them to do something, and their coaches did little to address the disrespect the players demonstrated. The Arkansas State athletic department also failed to fully comply with the requirements of Title IX while I was there. As a result, my salary was about 40% less than that of the male that held the same position for the men's basketball team. I know these are all examples of male privilege, but as I mentioned earlier, I have had a hard time admitting that I experienced gender-based oppression in my past. Whether I want to admit it or not, these experiences have affected my worldview and could affect my role as a researcher. As a female researcher, it is important for me to create a space that will allow other women to tell their stories and to co-create a new story with them throughout the research process (Kim, 2016).

Sexual orientation. Although being a woman has led to me experiencing some oppression, my sexual orientation and my lesbian identity have led to the greatest amount of conflict, both internally and externally. I first noticed I was attracted to women when I was twelve, but I convinced myself that this attraction was normal. However, it did not feel normal. Throughout high school, I developed crushes on girls in my school, but I never acted on these feelings. I dated several boys, and I would always break up with them before things got physical because the thought of kissing them made me uncomfortable. I was extremely homophobic and made heterosexist remarks about the gay and lesbian students at my school. I did not want to be associated with "those" people. I began dating my first girlfriend the summer after my senior year of high school. Even though we dated for three years, I still could not accept that I might be a lesbian. I kept telling myself, "She is a special case." At one point in our relationship, I found

myself face down on an altar at a church revival trying to pray my gay away and asking God to forgive me of the sin of loving this person. I could not be a lesbian; I was a Christian. At that point in my life, these two pieces of my identity could not coexist. I hated myself for acting on the feelings I had for this girl, and I was angry with God for not making the feelings disappear.

I continued to date women throughout college and into graduate school and distanced myself from any religious affiliations. My lesbian friends knew about my relationships with women, but I would not tell my heterosexual friends or family. I also would only admit to being bisexual even though I did not date men. I slowly started to realize that my attraction to women was not a phase. Though I was still not comfortable with my sexual orientation, I decided to tell my mom I was bisexual. It would take me two more years to finally admit to myself and to her that I was gay. She initially reacted with denial and fear. She wanted to know how I knew I was a lesbian if I had never had sex with a guy. She worried about the problems I would face as a lesbian especially in the South. She grieved because she believed my sexual orientation would prevent me from having children and take away her opportunity to have grandchildren. While she and my dad are both still working to completely accept my sexual identity, they have never rejected me. They have continued to give me support and show me love and acceptance (even if it is with the hope that I am still simply going through a phase). This support has allowed me to continue on a path of self-acceptance.

After a couple of unhealthy relationships and an ongoing battle with depression, I began seeing a counselor. This counselor helped me understand that by trying to live a double life and pose as heterosexual at work and in the community, I was in a constant state of internal conflict. We worked on ways to resolve this over the course of about a year. While it was never overtly stated, being a lesbian coach at Arkansas State was not an option. In fact, the administration

threatened to not renew my contract because I had a messy desk and mailbox. Though I cannot say with certainty that this threat and the references made about the importance of how I represented myself to administration had anything to do with my sexual orientation, I have a hard time believing it did not play a factor especially since this threat came after I helped the team earn the highest GPA in program history.

This is one of the reasons I made the decision to come back to school. I knew it was time for me to start being open about my sexual identity, but I knew I could not do it there. At this point in my work with my counselor, I also started to find a way to integrate my Christian beliefs with my sexual identity. Though I grew up hearing and believing homosexuality is a sin, I never knew why I believed that or if there was truth in that belief. After reading and reflecting on what the Bible actually says and what scholars have said about homosexuality in the Bible, I now believe that I can be both a Christian and a lesbian. I am still working on repairing my relationship with the Church and am learning to be much less concerned with the religious aspects of Christianity and more concerned with the spiritual.

Systemic oppression is still a major concern for LGBT individuals including myself (Crisp, 2014). Prior to the Obergefell v. Hodges (2015) decision by Supreme Court of the United States, which granted same-sex partners in all 50 states the right to be married, I had never lived in a state where I could be legally married. While this court decision was a significant moment in my personal history as well as the history of this country, we still have a long way to go. The narrative that I currently hear on a daily basis regarding marriage equality is a narrative of hate and hostile resistance constructed by people who believe they have the right to tell me who I can marry. For example, Mike Huckabee, the former governor of Arkansas and a man that shook my hand to congratulate me on my excellent academic achievement as a high school senior, stands

beside individuals like Kim Davis and supports her right to choose who I am allowed to marry while my Facebook friends applaud both of them for their courage (LoBianco, Kopan, & Schleifer, 2015). The disappointment, frustration, and anger that these narratives produce within me are hard to express, but I hope I can use these emotions to promote change and fight for the equality that was meant to come from the Supreme Court's decision.

A second reason I returned to school was to prepare myself to become a better advocate for female athletes and coaches with a particular interest in LGBTQ female athletes and coaches. As depicted throughout this section of my narrative, I have experienced some external heterosexism in the forms of verbal harassment and a lack of acceptance from important members of my family and social support network. While this external heterosexism was difficult to handle, my own internalized heterosexism was much more extreme and led to battles with depression, self-mutilation, and suicidal ideation. Moving to Knoxville has given me the opportunity to open up to others regarding my sexual orientation and live a more authentic life. My time at UT has allowed me to retrace my journey of sexual identity development; it was powerful for me to identify the phases I have passed through and to realize I am at a point of identity synthesis (McCarn & Fassinger, 1996). At this point in my identity development, I can recognize, cope with, and resist both internal and external heterosexism. My lesbian identity is no longer a source of shame. Instead, I proudly accept it as a very salient part of who I am.

I want to use my experiences and the knowledge I gain through research to help others. Within this study, I could interview coaches with different types of sexual orientations. I know that in some interviews, my lesbian identity will help me relate to my participants while in others, it will be a point of difference. When interviewing lesbian coaches, it will be important for me to allow them to decide whether this part of their identity is important in their story as a

coach. I have had a positive experience since coming out and have a tendency to want to ask questions about the ways others have experienced this process. Since this is not one of my research questions, this would be an inappropriate series of questions to ask. However, if coaches begin to discuss ways their sexual orientation has affected their experiences as a coach, it will be important for me to allow them to share this part of their story.

Research experience and reflexivity. In addition to gaining a better understanding of the privilege and oppression I have experienced throughout my life and learning to be reflexive on how these experiences have shaped and will continue to shape me as a researcher, my views on research have also changed during my time at UT. As an undergraduate student, I worked as a research assistant for an experimental psychologist and did quantitative research on the effect of prenatal exposure to nicotine on the consumption of nicotine by adolescent and adult rats. The motto in our lab was to control as many variables as possible in order to ensure internal validity. We wanted to demonstrate that the differences we saw in consumption could be attributed solely to our independent variable. Differences only existed if they were statistically significant, and any outliers we encountered were typically explained by an equipment malfunction or a data entry error. I thought this was the best way to conduct research and cringed at studies that attempted to create external validity.

At Georgia Southern, I was introduced to qualitative research, but I did not understand how the work these professors and students were doing could be called research. Instead of learning more about qualitative methodology, I happily excelled in statistics classes. This was where I was comfortable. Numbers made sense to me, and I liked being able to use these numbers to show relationships and to identify differences. There was power in $p<.05$ and $r=.8$.

As I planned my thesis, I soon realized that numbers could not fully explain the topics I wanted to study. I thought about ways to conduct research on lesbian athletes on NCAA women's basketball teams. I knew I could get results on the number of lesbians on these teams and possibly administer surveys that would give me information about their sense of belonging or their relationships with their coaches. This research would be of value and add to knowledge in the field, but I wanted my research to be more and do more. I wanted to change the stereotypes that people had about women and lesbians in sport. I could not find a way to do this with statistics, so I gave up and decided to do an internship in coaching instead.

As I began my career in coaching, I discovered problems in the administration of NCAA athletic programs. As I previously stated, athletes' class schedules are dictated by practice times and progress toward degree requirements, instead of academic interests. Athletes are discouraged from choosing majors that involve labs and require more than 120 hours. This means that athletes who enroll with the intention to pursue degrees in nursing, education, pre-medical, and other pre-professional programs oftentimes graduate with degrees in interdisciplinary studies, and thus, severely limited job options. Lesbian athletes are told they cannot date their teammates. The coaches making rules against intrateam dating cite that these relationships could be detrimental to team performance as an explanation for these rules. However, they never consider the effects these rules can have on the psychological health of the women on their teams. Black coaches are hired and slotted into very specific positions, which limits the coaches' ability to gain the knowledge and skills necessary to move into head coaching positions. I found myself working in an oppressive system, and I felt handcuffed by my lack of power as a young assistant coach to right the wrongs that I was repeatedly witnessing. I did not know where to turn, so I ran towards what makes me feel strong: knowledge and education.

I wondered what I could do to change the system at its roots. Quantitative research had failed me because it could not provide the answers and description I was seeking in my research work. Coaching made me aware of the injustices within NCAA Division I athletics, but my lack of power limited me from making substantial changes. All signs pointed toward qualitative research, but I continued to struggle with my perception of a qualitative approach to obtaining knowledge. After looking into the research interests of multiple professors in sport psychology PhD programs, I contacted Dr. Leslee Fisher as her research interests seemed most in line with my questions. I shared my various research ideas with her, and she began to convince me that a qualitative approach could provide an answer to some of my questions. She provided resources for me to read and encouraged me to apply to the program at the University of Tennessee.

I took her advice, and here I am. Two years ago, I knew very little about qualitative research. I thought I would do 12-15 interviews, put the worlds of my participants in my own words, tie those findings back to previous research, obtain my PhD, and start my career. After the first three classes in "Introduction to Qualitative Research" and two meetings with Dr. Fisher, I realized that I had seriously underestimated the process. I was drowning in the vocabulary of qualitative research. Words like ontology, epistemology, triangulation, axial coding, thematizing, and phenomenology filled my nightmares. I struggled to grasp the differences between paradigms, frameworks, methodologies, and methods. Adding to my frustration was the fact that terms such as "coding" have different meanings for each researcher. I wanted to abort ship and return to quantitative research. The formula to find the correlation between two variables in a sample is always the same (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003); I wanted that consistency and structure. However, as I was unwilling to fail at this new endeavor, I kept reading and working through the terminology, and I began to make sense of the information being presented to me. I finally came

to the realization that qualitative research is not a single, simple methodology; instead, it consists of a variety of methodologies that are developed over time and grounded in theory (Creswell, 2013; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, 2011).

I have recently found a qualitative research home in narrative inquiry. Many of the reasons researchers have made the turn to narrative inquiry are discussed in detail later in the chapter, and I have emphasized the ones that are salient to my experiences. Narrative inquiry is the best methodological choice for the research questions being posed in the current study for three major reasons: (a) it allows for a greater understanding of experience through the use of stories (Kramp, 2004; Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007); (b) it has the power to promote a sense of agency among marginalized groups, like African American females in a system like the NCAA that is dominated by White males (Kim, 2016; Riessman, 2008; Shabatay, 1991); and, lastly, (c) it grants me, the researcher, the opportunity to use creative forms to reconstruct the stories of the participants, which makes the information more accessible to a target audience of coaches, athletes, and administrators while still remaining academically rigorous (Kim, 2016; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

To conclude, I have dedicated a great deal of time reflecting on how my experiences have affected my approach to research and to the world as a whole. I have benefitted from the unearned privilege I have received because I am an upper-middle-class White, and I have also been hindered by the undeserved oppression I have experienced because I am a woman, and on top of that, I am a lesbian. The privilege has taught me that I have a responsibility, and the oppression has taught me that everyone has a voice that deserves to be heard even if that voice is constantly buried by those in power. This learning gives me the confidence to know that I am the best researcher for this study. Additionally, my experiences as an NCAA Division I women's

basketball assistant coach will allow me greater access to and increased credibility with potential participants. I am familiar with the culture of NCAA Division I athletics and can speak the common language. I have a network of current NCAA Division I women's basketball coaches, and I am confident in my ability to effectively grow this network, so I can extend this study to participants that I do not currently know as well. Finally, my sense of advocacy inspires me to go beyond looking at this issue from the strictly performance concerned perspective of traditional sport psychology and instead, viewing it from the lens of cultural sport psychology which emphasizes social change.

Theoretical Framework

Although cultural sport studies have been a focus in sport sociology since the 1970s and 1980s, the use of a cultural studies framework by sport psychology researchers and practitioners (e.g., cultural sport psychology, CSP; Schinke & Hanrahan, 2009) has been limited (Fisher, Butryn, & Roper, 2003). For the purposes of this study, I used a CSP perspective to explore the roles of Black female assistant coaches in NCAA Division I women's basketball, how the assignment of these roles are influenced by the intersection of race and gender of the participants, and the ways the participants cope with the gendered racism they experience.

Though no single definition of CSP can be identified, Ryba, Schinke, and Tenenbaum (2010) provided a list of essential characteristics of cultural studies and CSP. Works grounded in CSP are: (a) interdisciplinary; (b) informed by multiple theories; (c) concerned with social difference, power dynamics, and social justice; (d) focused on praxis; (e) positioned in a specific context; and (f) self-reflective (see also Wright, 1998). I discuss how I will address each of these characteristics within the current study in the following paragraph.

For example, I drew from a variety of research conducted in a number of disciplines (e.g., interdisciplinary) such as sport psychology, sport management, race studies and gender studies. The current study was also informed by multiple theories including postmodern gender theory (Layton, 1998), expanded Nigrescence theory (Cross & Vandiver, 2001), and Womanist identity model (Helms, 1990). Further in line with the characteristics of CSP research projects, I addressed social difference, power dynamics and social justice issues. For example, how assistant coaches are chosen and the roles these coaches are placed into are based on as well as create power dynamics within staffs, and when these roles limit opportunities to advance to head coaching positions, social justice concerns arise. In addition to becoming aware of these concerns, research involved with cultural studies attempts "the bridging of the gap between research and practice" and is focused on praxis (Ryba & Wright, 2005, p.196). The ability to not only learn about the interaction between race and gender and the roles coaches are assigned, but also to apply this knowledge in order to educate administrators, head coaches, and current and future assistant coaches about these issues was a key advantage to using a cultural sport psychology. The study was positioned in a single context, NCAA Division I women's basketball in the United States. Finally, I was self-reflective as well as self-reflexive throughout the course of this study. This self-reflexive process is discussed in greater detail in the *Procedures* section.

An additional advantage of using cultural sport psychology is the freedom to use a variety of methodological approaches including narrative inquiry, which I used for this study (Fisher, Butryn, & Roper, 2003). In the remainder of this section, I discuss the foundations of narrative inquiry, explain why narrative inquiry is a good methodological match based on my ontological and epistemological beliefs, and describe how this methodology will be implemented throughout this study.

Narrative Inquiry

Over the last 35 years, social science researchers have used narratives to better understand the experiences of their participants (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). Though the use of narratives began in literary studies (Webster & Mertova, 2007), there has been a turn toward using narratives across a variety of fields within social sciences including sociology, anthropology, history, education, and psychology (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). This narrative turn is described by Riessman (2008) as a movement that "is international and cross-disciplinary, not fitting within the boundaries of any single scholarly field or nation" (p. 17). The extensive spread of this movement is possible because storytelling is a universal human trait that goes beyond a single field or nation (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990).

During the 1980's, the study of narrative began to fully develop as more researchers made the turn toward narrative (Riessman, 2008). In 1983, Geertz provided a metaphoric account of the credibility of narrative knowing, and in 1986, Bruner argued that narrative and paradigmatic knowledge (i.e. knowledge obtained through positivistic research) were the two ways of knowing (Bruner, 1986; Geertz, 1983; Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). In 1988, Polkinghorne wrote *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences*, which outlined the importance of narrative in the practice of psychology and began to develop a narrative theory based on how practitioners used narratives within their practice (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Furthermore, the Personal Narrative Group released *Interpreting Women's Lives* in 1989 to allow the narratives of women developed through a relationship with the researcher to be shared without relying on traditional positivistic methods that often ignored context and relationships (Riessman, 2008).

It was also during this time that researchers went beyond using stories as data in a variety of methodologies (e.g. ethnography, case study, and survey) and began to develop a distinct research methodology known as narrative inquiry (Caine, Estefan, & Clandinin, 2013). Pinnegar and Daynes (2007) clearly articulate the differences between narrative researchers and narrative inquirers as: "narrative researchers use narrative in some way in their research. Narrative inquiry embraces narrative as both the method and phenomena of study" (p. 5). In addition, narrative inquiry uses a storied writing style when representing the participants' stories (Smith, 2010). The focus of narrative inquiry is on understanding experiences and stories lived and told, and since it is based on understanding and not prediction, it can be grouped under the larger label of qualitative research (Kim, 2016; Kramp, 2004; Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007; Robert & Shenhav, 2014).

The turn to narrative inquiry can be attributed to a number of factors. Most of these came from dissatisfaction with realism and positivism that dominated social science research (Kim, 2016; Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007; Riessman, 2008). As a result, narrative inquirers turned from positivist and realist approaches toward a research perspective committed to the understanding of meaning in, and through, narratives (Bruner, 1994; Kramp, 2014; Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007; Polkinghorne, 1988). Pinnegar and Daynes (2007) further emphasized that as part of this turn, "narrative inquirers recognize that the researcher and the researched in a particular study are in relationship with each other and that both parties will learn and change in the encounter" (p. 9). Additionally, a desire to break free from the limiting qualities of numbers, an emphasis on the particular rather than the general, and an acceptance of multiple ways of knowing are the epistemological and theoretical differences that led researchers to narrative inquiry (Bruner, 1996; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Kim, 2016; Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007).

Political shifts in the form of "identity movements" within marginalized groups also contributed to the narrative turn (Riessman, 2008). In addition to epistemological, theoretical, and political reasons for the turn, Riessman also identified the development of technology such as miniature recording devices and the ability to create verbatim transcripts as influential during this shift. Lastly, Riessman (2008) posited that in the post-Soviet era, "social theories that privilege human agency and consciousness gained importance (particularly in the United States)…Theoretical shifts worked hand in hand with developments in methods designed to preserve agency and subjectivity" (p. 16). Stories and storytelling allow marginalized individuals to communicate the realities of their oppressions and enable researchers to share in and better understand the life experiences of these individuals (Kim, 2016; Shabatay, 1991). This aspect of the narrative turn is especially important for the current study because promoting agency and increasing consciousness within the participants is essential in CSP and are potential benefits to the participants.

Though narrative inquiry has gained vast popularity and been used extensively in a variety of social science fields over the last four decades, it is still in its infancy in sport psychology research (Smith, 2010; Smith & Sparkes, 2009b). However, Smith (2010) noted that recently, many sport psychology researchers have turned toward narrative inquiry to better understand the experiences of their participants (e.g. Busanich, McGannon, & Schinke, 2012; Denison & Winslade, 2006; Smith & Sparkes, 2005, 2009a, 2009b; Sparkes & Partington, 2003). Within sport psychology research, and for the purposes of the current study, narrative inquiry is defined as "a dynamic process founded on a set of epistemological and ontological assumptions which are at play from the first narrative imaginings of a research puzzle through to the

representation and judgment of the narrative inquiry in the research text" (Smith & Sparkes, 2009b, p. 3). Smith and Sparkes (2010) further identified six of these assumptions as:

1. Narrative inquiry is shaped by interpretivism.
2. Humans are storytelling beings, and we construct stories from our cultural life to help it make sense.
3. Narrative is a means to knowing. It allows us to know ourselves, others, and the world.
4. Humans live 'storied' lives. "We live in, through, and out stories" (p. 80).
5. Humans make meaning and use narratives as cultural resources to do so.
6. Stories are both personal and sociocultural (see pp.80-81).

Furthermore, narrative inquiry is understood to have a unique writing style in which the representation of the data is also storied (Smith, 2010).

Additionally, both Smith and Sparkes (2010) and Day Sclater (2003) have outlined several advantages of using narrative inquiry in sport psychology research. As Day Sclater (2003) wrote:

> To think about a human subject who is socially situated and culturally fashioned, at the same time as that subject expresses a unique individuality and an agency that makes the subject, at once, quite singular but also part of more or less local and global communities. (p. 319)

Narrative inquiry also allowed me to develop meaningful relationships with my participants as we actively co-constructed their rich and complex stories (Beuthin, 2014; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). The process of co-construction occurred as a result of the dynamic and interactive nature of the narrative interview (Gubrium, Holstein, Marvasti, & McKinney, 2012). Within a narrative interview, the researcher is not tasked with getting the story; instead, she "enters into and

explores the story with the participant such that they *co-construct* it together" through the back and forth dialogue between the researcher and the participant (Beuthin, 2014, p. 13). Throughout the current study, I worked to stay present and engaged during the interviews and shaped my questions and comments around the stories that the participants shared to create a space for co-construction to occur (Riessman, 2008). For the Black female assistant coaches in NCAA Division I women's basketball who served as participants in this study, it is hoped that these stories have the ability to uncover the temporal, emotional, relational and contextual aspects of their lives; reveal and honor the complexities of their experiences; and promote personal and social change (Smith, 2010).

Ontological, Epistemological, Methodological Orientation

In addition to the benefits of narrative inquiry that were discussed above, I decided to use narrative inquiry for the current study because the ontological and epistemological framings of this methodology are in line with my ontological and epistemological views. Creswell (2013) defines ontology as the "…nature of reality and its characteristics" (p. 20). Based on my worldview, reality is a subjective occurrence (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). As humans, we all view the world through a slightly different lens, which creates subjective interpretations. Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that 'facts' cannot be gained without interactions and experiences with the phenomena under study because 'facts' are a product of theories, and theories are created by human judgment that can only occur when investigators interact and experience the phenomena directly. Based on this argument and my lived experiences, I believe that reality is a product of our experiences. Further, Lincoln and Guba (2000) describe knowledge as actively constructed and cocreated by human agents which has led be to believe that reality can be influenced by

interactions with others. In summary, I have an ontological view that is subjective, heavily shaped by context and experiences, and relies on constructed truths.

Smith and Sparkes (2009b) explain that the ontological framing of narrative inquiry is shaped by interpretivism. The philosophical assumptions of interpretivism are that "there is no social reality 'out there' independent of us that can be accessed and known as it is" (Smith & Sparkes, 2009b, p. 3); Smith and Sparkes (2009b) further clarify that within interpretivism, there are multiple realities; social realities are socially constructed and subjective; and lastly, there is no social reality that can serve as a reference point to determine the accuracy of knowledge claims.

The primary claim of narrative inquiry is that humans tell stories and individually and socially, live storied lives. Therefore, by studying narratives researchers are studying the ways people experience the world (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). Further, Caine, Estefan, and Clandinin (2013) suggest that a narrative ontology views experiences as interactive, and they lead to changes for the individuals who interact as well as the context in which the interaction takes place. The authors continue by explaining "it is through this experience that people's lives are composed and re-composed in relation with others who are also living storied lives" (p. 576).

This view is further supported by Spector-Mersel (2010) who asserts that within narrative inquiry, "social reality is primarily a narrative reality" (Spector-Mersel, 2010). Spector-Mersel explains that this does not mean that individuals create their own stories and therefore create their own realities; instead, the relationship between life and narrative are mutual. Widdershoven (1993) beautifully described this relationship with:

Life is both more and less than a story. It is more in that it is the basis of a variety of

> stories, and it is less in that it is unfinished and unclear as long as there are no stories about it. (p. 19, as cited by Spector-Mersel, 2010, p. 211)

As seen in the above quote, narratives play an essential part in our lives and in creating our reality. This ontology demonstrates that narrative inquiry is a way to gain access to social realities and learn about participants' lives and experiences (Kim, 2016).

In addition to understanding the nature of reality within narrative inquiry, understanding the role the researcher plays in creating these realities within narrative inquiry is also important. According to Creswell (2013), epistemology is the "relationship between the researcher and that being researched." Epistemology questions "the nature of knowledge and knowing" (Rossman & Rallis, 2012, p. 36). It can range from completely objective (e.g., the researcher is separate from what is being researched and knowledge can be gained and understood through scientific study; positivist paradigm) to completely relative (i.e., the researcher plays an active role in developing the knowledge that is created through research; postmodern paradigm) (Hatch, 2002). I believe the researcher plays an active role in constructing knowledge. Further, all that is known is subjective and situated within the context of time, place, and society (Beuthin, 2014; Clandinin & Huber, 2010; Lincoln & Guba, 2000).

My epistemological viewpoint matches closely to the social constructionist epistemology of narrative inquiry (Smith, 2010). A social constructionist epistemology maintains that we understand ourselves and our world is subjective and socially constructed (Spector-Mersel, 2010). Spector-Mersel points out that the ontology and epistemology of narrative inquiry are often blurred because reality (ontological framework) is shaped by how we perceive, know, and interpret it (epistemological framework). Within the narrative inquiry, we know what we know through narratives. Squire (2013) identifies narratives as "essential means of human sense-

making" (p. 50). Caine, Estefan, and Clandinin (2013) also assert that, "it is through story that people are able to understand, make meaning of, and relate experiences, because story is how people make sense of their existence" (p. 576).

The knowledge and meaning that is gained through narrative depends on the context in which those stories are told (Spector-Mersel, 2010). This context includes the interpersonal context between speaker and hearer as well as the broader social, cultural, and temporal contexts (Squire, 2013). The context and audience also affects what and how stories are told (Spector-Mersel, 2010). Due to the influence of context, narratives never have a single author; instead, they are jointly told (Squire, 2013). Within the research context, the researchers and participants co-construct narratives. Therefore, researchers do not only discover narratives told by their participants; they contribute to their creation and consequently, the reality of the experience (Riessman, 2008).

Smith and Sparkes (2009b) summarize the ontological and epistemological framings of narrative inquiry by writing,

> We live in, through, and out of narratives. They serve as an essential source of psycho-socio-cultural learning and shape who we are and might become. Thus, narratives are a portal through which a person enters the world; play a formative role in developing the person; help guide action; and are a psycho-social-cultural shared resource that constitutes and constructs human realities. (p. 3)

Our reality is created and understood by our narratives, and to understand the experiences of another, researchers must gain access to the narrative portals of their participants and recognize that by doing so, the research process leads to the construction of new narratives, and, therefore, a new reality.

The methodology of narrative inquiry is closely tied to its ontological and epistemological framings. Reality is found in and understood through narratives, so the data used in narrative inquiry are also narratives (Spector-Mersel, 2010). Narratives can be produced during interviews, found in archival documents, and collected by working ethnographically (Riessman, 2010). While these data collection techniques and the resultant data are used in a number of qualitative methodologies, the focus on narratives when employing these methods is what differentiates narrative inquiry from the rest (Spector-Mersel, 2010). Within narrative inquiry, there are many forms of analyses that can be utilized by the researcher (Daiute, 2014; Kim, 2016; Riessman, 2010). For the purposes of the current study, a thematic analysis, which allows the researcher analyze the content (i.e. what was said) of a story, was used. Thematic analysis will be discussed in greater detail in the "Data Analysis" section.

Participants

Eight Black/African American females, ranging in age from 29-36 (*M*=33.6 years), who currently hold a position as an NCAA Division I women's basketball assistant coach participated in the current study. The participants coached in a variety of NCAA Division I conferences in the South and Midwest regions of the United States including the Sun Belt Conference, Conference USA, the Southeastern Conference, the Southland Conference, the Missouri Valley Conference, and the American Athletic Conference. The participants had an average of 10.5 years of total coaching experience as well as at least four years of playing experience at the collegiate level. All of the participants self-identified as Christian. Three self-identified as gay or lesbian, and five self-identified as heterosexual or straight. Four participants reported being single; two reported being in a relationship; one reported that her relationship status was complicated; one reported being married; and none had children. Due to the small population of Black female assistant

coaches in NCAA Division I women's basketball (N=314) and a commitment to protecting the confidentiality of the participants, a demographic table of individual participants is not included.

Procedures

Interview guide development. I developed a semi-structured interview guide based on previous assistant coach literature (see Appendix A).

The interview began by asking participants to tell their story about how they got into coaching. This question helped develop rapport as well as introduce the narrative interview structure to the participants (Riessman, 2008). From the start, I invited the participants to approach the interview like a conversation and encouraged them to tell their stories (Smith, 2010). Though I had an interview guide to help me direct the interview if necessary, I tried to relinquish control of the interview to my participants as much as possible. Allowing the participant to lead the direction of the interview is recommended in narrative interviewing in order to help balance the power dynamic (Riessman, 2008). This interviewing style led to in-depth, lengthy, and unpredictable interviews laden with rich data with a great deal of contextual meaning (Smith, 2010). I ended the interview by asking several general demographic questions (Bates, 2004).

Bracketing interview. After receiving IRB approval to conduct this study (see Appendix B) and prior to data collection, I participated in an audiotaped bracketing interview to identify ways that my previous experiences and resulting narratives may influence, limit, or facilitate the narratives I would co-construct with the participants (Patton, 2002). A trained narrative interviewer interviewed me using the semi-structured interview guide described earlier. I then thematically analyzed the interview in a fashion similar to the analysis of the interviews in the main study. The themes that arose from this interview were: Race, gender, age, and education are

all factors that contribute to what roles are assigned to assistant coaches; for Black female assistant coaches, their race can provide a way into coaching, but not a way up; Black female assistant coaches are placed into recruiting positions because of their race and gender; Black female coaches do a better job of developing networks than White females coaches do. Once the themes were constructed from the interview, I was reflexive about how these themes are the product of my own context and how my race, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, and social class affect how I shape knowledge construction (McGannon & Johnson, 2009). Further, following the instruction of McGannon and Johnson (2009), I reflected on how the political nature and power dimensions present in the research process affected the construction of knowledge. I wrote all of these reflections in storied form in a research journal that I kept throughout the research process. It is through the narratives in these journals that I "hope to reveal that 'rather than hiding struggle, concealing the very human labor that creates the text, writing stories would reveal emotional, social, physical, and political bases of the labor'" (Richardson, 1995, p. 191, as cited by McGannon & Johnson, 2009, p. 69). I also talked through my reflections with my major advisor. After discussing my reflections regarding the bracketing interview, I made some minor changes to the format of the interview guide to make it easier to read during the interview.

Pilot study. Once my biases were identified, I conducted a pilot interview with an African American female currently in a position as a NCAA Division I assistant women's basketball coach to further improve the rigor and trustworthiness of the current study (Kim, 2010). The pilot interview was used to help me feel more comfortable with the interview guide. More importantly, it ensured that I was conducting the interview in a culturally appropriate way (Kim, 2010), and that participants would understand the questions and feel comfortable

answering the questions on the guide (Sampson, 2004). Additionally, it tested the question sequencing and length (Yin, 2009). The interview guide was not changed after the pilot interview. However, the pilot participant suggested that I tell the participants at the start of the interview that they are welcome to answer any phone calls or texts during the interview. She explained that during the season, coaches are always expected to have their phones with them in case the head coach, a student-athlete, or a recruit needs to get in contact with them. I heeded this advice, and the participants in the main study seemed to appreciate being given the option. In fact, many answered texts during our interview together.

Main study. I used criterion-based selection and snowball sampling to recruit participants for the main study (Creswell, 2013; LeCompte, Preissle, & Tesch, 1993). Criterion-based selection calls for the researcher to create a list of characteristics (i.e., Black female and current assistant coach in NCAA Division I women's basketball) that the participants in the study must possess and to search for exemplars that match the required criteria (LeCompte, Preissle, & Tesch, 1993). Snowball sampling is a form of purposeful sampling that seeks out information from key individuals who can provide the names of possible participants who fit the criteria of the study and have a wealth of information to share (Patton, 2002). I began by asking the assistant coach who participated in the pilot study to ask coaches that she felt would be appropriate for the study to contact me or get permission from them to send me their contact information. I then asked former colleagues from my experiences in coaching to participate; additionally, I asked them to send my contact information to other coaches who they believed would be interested in participating. Those potential participants who granted permission for their contact information to be shared with me were then sent an email asking if they would be willing to be interviewed for a study about the experiences of NCAA DI African American

female assistant basketball coaches (see Appendix C).

Once a coach agreed to participate in the main study, I sent a follow-up email to set up a time that was convenient for her to be interviewed. At the decided upon time, I conducted a face-to-face interview at a location chosen by the participant (Elwood & Martin, 2000). This resulted in my traveling to five states over a month long period to conduct the interviews. Prior to the start of the interview, participants were asked to sign an informed consent form as well as if they were comfortable having the interview audio recorded (see Appendix D). Once consent was given for both, I started recording and began the interview. Interviews lasted between 46 and 102 minutes. Each participant was asked to provide her own pseudonym to ensure confidentiality and to further establish her position of power as a co-constructor within the research process (Busanich, McGannon, & Schinke, 2012). Finally, the interviews were transcribed verbatim by a transcription service.

Member checking. Once the interviews were transcribed, I emailed the completed transcript to each participant to ensure that the transcriptions were an accurate representation of what they said (Patton, 2002). Transcribing the interviews is part of the interpretive process, so it was important to verify with the participants that their words were reconstructed in written form in a manner that represented their intended meaning (Riessman, 2008). None of the participants requested any changes to be made to their transcripts. Additionally, I emailed the completed thematic analysis to participants (Creswell, 2013). Using member checking promotes further discussion, which can become part of the ongoing narrative record and assist with the analysis process (Riessman, 2008). After sending the thematic analysis to the participants, Louise responded with:

This is great! I thought you did a great job of blending everyone's experiences. It's crazy

> how familiar these thoughts were, I honestly didn't know what was something I said or someone else until I saw the name. Speaks volumes of how we're at different places yet feeling and experiencing the same things.

Furthermore, Lincoln and Guba (1985) posit that member checking is an essential technique for establishing credibility in qualitative research.

Data Analysis

For the current study, I performed a thematic analysis on the interviews (Daiute, 2014; Kim, 2016; Kramp, 2004; Mishler, 1986; Riessman, 2008). In addition, an African American female who previously held a position as a Division I assistant track coach served as a "critical friend" throughout the analysis process to ensure that I did not allow my narrative to overtake the narratives of the participants (Eley, 2012). She helped me recognize the role of race in the construction of the participants' narratives that I might not recognize due to my privileged White position. Specifically, she called my attention to how strongly the *becoming a Black superwoman* coping strategy came out in our data and helped me understand that due to the systematic oppression that surrounds the participants, many of them feel that fighting the system is a lost cause; however, offering suggestions for changes that Black women can make is within their control and worth talking about. To further strengthen the rigor of this study, my advisor served as a peer debriefer (Creswell, 2013). She read the interviews, and we discussed together whether the thematic analysis appeared to accurately represent participants' experiences. She believed that it did, so no changes where made to the themes or subthemes.

During this analysis, I was strictly concerned with the content of the interview, focusing on "what" was said rather than "how" or "for what purposes" (Mishler, 1986; Riessman, 2008). I followed an inductive approach to ensure that the themes I found were constructed from the data

(Patton, 2002). In order to accomplish a rigorous thematic analysis, I followed the six phases of thematic analysis as outlined by Braun and Clark (2006). Each of these phases is italicized in the description below.

First, I *became familiar with the data* by listening to each recorded interview while checking the transcript for any errors that may have occurred during transcription. Once the transcripts were corrected, I carefully read them as a way to begin to recognize patterns throughout the data. Then, I uploaded the interview transcripts into QSR International's NVivo 10 qualitative data analysis software to begin the coding process. When *creating initial codes*, I read through the interviews again, selected data extracts that I thought could be a part of a larger theme of the data, and created a named Node in NVivo for each of the codes. After completing the initial coding process, my data was divided into 217 codes. Next, I met with my critical friend to *find the themes within the codes*. We discussed the relationships that existed between the codes and created four primary themes and 15 subthemes. Once these candidate themes were created, my critical friend and I *checked the initial themes against the entire data set* by first reading through the selected data extracts that made up our themes and then, reading through the transcripts as a whole. Though the candidate themes and subthemes were supported by the data extracts, they did not reflect the narratives as a whole. At that point, we returned to our codes and repeated the *find the themes within the codes and check the initial themes against the entire data set* phases of the analysis process. This time through, we once again created four themes and 15 subthemes, however, these were in line with the full data set. The original set of themes and subthemes did not accurately represent the ways the narratives of the participants shifted based on how long the participant had been coaching. Since the second set of themes arose in the form of a timeline of a coaching career, they could be used to explain the ways the stories of the participants changed.

We followed this step by *defining and naming the final themes*. As suggested by Braun and Clark (2006), we chose names that would "be concise, punchy, and immediately give the reader a sense of what the theme is about"(p. 93). Lastly, I used the field texts (i.e., themes and data extracts) to create a research text that represents the multi-layered and complex nature of the participants' experience as I *produced the final report* (Braun & Clark, 2006; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Clandinin & Huber, 2010).

My final themes are presented in the format of a coach's journal. I believe this format allowed me to merge my world as a previous assistant coach with my current identity as a researcher, and also gave me the creative freedom I needed to excel as a writer. Additionally, the end product is a document that maintains academic rigor while inviting the target audience of coaches and athletic directors into the conversation (Bochner, 2012). These individuals will be able to relate to and better understand the journal format, as several of the coaches in the study described how they kept coaching journals to document their own experiences (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

One of the six essential characteristics of works grounded in cultural sport psychology is that the work is focused on praxis (Ryba, Schinke, & Tenenbaum, 2010). My task does not end with the construction of the final narrative document. While learning about the experiences of Black female coaches, this is not enough. Social change is my ultimate goal. Therefore, I will blend the results gained from the current study into my practice. It is hoped that the resulting praxis will lead to the development of interventions for NCAA Division I head coaches and administrators and other perpetrators of gendered racism (e.g., boosters and athletes) as well as for Black female assistant coaches and other targets of gendered racism (e.g., Black female student athletes) within NCAA Division I women's basketball.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Semi-Structured Interview Guide

The Experiences of Black Female Assistant Coaches in NCAA Division I Women's Basketball
Semi-Structured Interview Guide

Since race and gender are two of the areas we will be discussing today, please tell me how you self-identify in terms of race and gender.

Also, tell me about the race and gender of the members of the staff that you are currently a part of.

Questions

(Background)

1. Tell me about how you got involved with basketball
2. Tell me the story of how you got into coaching…
3. Tell me about a typical workday for you…

(Roles)

4. What is your primary role/s as an assistant coach on your current staff?
    a. How did this become your role?
    b. What are the other roles you are asked to perform?
5. When you accepted your current position, what did you expect your role to be?
    a. In what ways does that expectation differ from what you actually do, if it does?
6. From your experiences, how do you think roles are typically assigned to assistant coaches?
7. What would your ideal assistant coaching position look like?
    a. What roles would you fill?

(Efficacy and Development)

8. How confident are you in your ability to fill the roles you are assigned?
    a. How confident are you in your ability to fill roles that are currently not assigned to you?
9. What experiences have been most impactful in your development as a coach?
10. Discuss your interest in becoming a head coach
    a. What influences that interest or lack of interest?

(Gendered Racism and Coping)

11. What are the challenges you have faced as a Black/African American female assistant women's basketball coach?
12. What are the advantages you have experienced as an Black/African American female assistant basketball coach?
13. Tell me about a time when your race and gender impacted you (both positively and/or negatively) as an assistant coach?

14. How did you cope with being treated negatively due to your race and gender, if this occured?

(Future Directions)

15. In your opinion, what steps need to be made in order to increase the number of African American female coaches in NCAA Division I women's basketball?
16. Is there anything else you think we need to discuss related to the roles filled by African American female assistant coaches?

The next part of the interview is a series of short questions about your coaching background and personal identity. Please remember that you are free to skip any questions you are not comfortable answering.

Demographic/Background Information

Age _____
Highest level of playing experience? _____
Years coaching at your current job? Years coaching overall and at what level(s)?
_____
Nationality _____
Ethnicity_____
Injuries, body issues that make it difficult to coach? _____
Average yearly salary _____
Family structure (growing up) (e.g., mother, father, siblings, other people in household)
_____
Socioeconomic class (growing up)_____
Geographical region (growing up)
Current relational status (e.g., partner/no partner, children, etc.)_____
Sexual orientation? _____
Any religious affiliation? _____
Pseudonym?
Would you like me to send you a copy of the paper once I have completed the study?

Appendix B: IRB Letter of Approval

THE UNIVERSITY of TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE
Office of Research & Engagement
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD (IRB)

1534 White Ave.
Knoxville, TN 37996-1529
865-974-7697
fax 865-974-7400

September 23, 2015

Leslie Kaye Larsen
UTK - Kinesiology Recreation & Sport Studies

Re: UTK IRB-15-02445-XP
Study Title: The Experiences of African American Female Assistant Coaches in NCAA Division I Women's Basketball

Dear Ms. Larsen:

The Administrative Section of the UTK Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed your **application** for the above referenced project. It determined that your application is eligible for **expedited** review under 45 CFR 46.110(b)(1), categories (6) and (7). The IRB has reviewed these materials and determined that they do comply with proper consideration for the rights and welfare of human subjects and the regulatory requirements for the protection of human subjects. Therefore, this letter constitutes full approval by the IRB of your application version 1.3, including the recruitment version 2.1, interview guide version 1.1, and consent form version 1.2 (stamped IRB approved) as submitted. Approval of this study will be valid from September 23, 2015 to September 22, 2016.

In the event that subjects are to be recruited using solicitation materials, such as brochures, posters, web-based advertisements, etc., these materials must receive prior approval of the IRB. Any revisions in the approved application must also be submitted to and approved by the IRB prior to implementation. In addition, you are responsible for reporting any unanticipated serious adverse events or other problems involving risks to subjects or others in the manner required by the local IRB policy.

Finally, **re-approval** of your project is required by the IRB in accord with the conditions specified above. You may not continue the research study beyond the time or other limits specified unless you obtain prior written approval of the IRB.

Sincerely,

Colleen P. Gilrane

Colleen P. Gilrane, PhD
Chair

Appendix C: Recruitment Email

Dear Coach,

I hope that the Fall semester has gotten off to a great start and that preseason training is going well. My name is Leslie Larsen, and I am currently a PhD student at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. <Name of mutual contact> informed me that you expressed interest in participating in a study investigating the experiences of Black female assistant coaches in NCAA Division I women's basketball. I was wondering if you would be available for a 45-60 minute face-to-face or Skype interview on this subject at your convenience.

Your confidentiality would be protected throughout the process. Also, if for some reason, you decide you did not like the interview, you can also choose to throw it out afterwards (i.e., drop out of the study). Attached is a consent form, which also provides more information on the study. I would be happy to answer any other questions you may have.

Thanks for your time. If you are still interested in participating, I can work around your schedule when it comes to setting a time and date for the interview. In your reply to this email, can you please indicate times and dates that would be convenient for you as well as what race you self-identify as? I look forward to hearing back from you soon. Have a great rest of the week!

Best,
Leslie

Appendix D: Informed Consent Statement

Project Title: The Experiences of Black Female Assistant Coaches in NCAA Division I Women's Basketball

Investigator: Leslie K. Larsen

What is the purpose of this research study?
You are being recruited to participate in a study and interview about the experiences of Black female assistant coaches in NCAA Division I women's basketball and the roles one fills in this position. *This study has been approved by the institutional review board of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville.*

How many people will take part in this study?
It is projected that 8-12 individuals will participate in this study. They must identify as an African American female and be a current assistant women's basketball coach at a NCAA Division I institution.

How long will your part in this study last?
Interviews will last approximately 45-60 minutes. However, you can opt out of the interview and study at any time.

What will happen if you take part in the study?
An interview will be scheduled at a date, time, and location most convenient to you. The co-principal investigator, Leslie K. Larsen, will travel to your desired location for a face-to-face interview or contact you via Skype. You will be interviewed about your professional and personal experiences as an assistant coach and the roles you fill in this position. The interview will be recorded for transcription purposes. You will be sent a copy of the transcript, and, the research team will ask for your feedback to ensure accuracy.

What are the possible risks from being in this study?
I believe there is minimal risk related to participation in this study (i.e., no greater risk than what you experience in your daily life); however, it is always possible that you might become distressed during the interview while talking about your experiences. If this is the case, you can choose to opt out of the interview and the study, and I can help you find a qualified professional in your area to talk to if you would like.

What are the possible benefits from being in this study?
It is hoped that you will find it interesting to talk about your experiences. Also, by talking about your experiences, you could potentially provide information that could help sport psychology consultants and other professionals benefit by gaining a better understanding of your experiences.

Initials_____

How will your privacy be protected?

Protecting your privacy is of the utmost importance to the research. All information and transcripts will be kept confidential; your real name will not be used in the interview transcripts. Only those investigators involved in the study will have access to the recorded interviews. The recordings from the interviews will be erased once they are transcribed. Also, your informed consent forms will be kept in a secure location. If you wish to opt out from the study, your data and information will be destroyed.

Emergency Medical Treatment

The University of Tennessee does not "automatically" reimburse subjects for medical claims or other compensation. If physical injury is suffered in the course of research, or for more information, please notify the investigator in charge Leslie K. Larsen at (865) 974-0967.

Contact Information

If you have questions at any time about the study or the procedures (or you experience adverse effects as a result of participating in this study), you may contact the principal investigator, Leslie K. Larsen at (865) 974-0967. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, contact the Office of Research Compliance Officer at (865) 974-7697.

Participant's Agreement:

I have read all of the information provided above, and I have asked any questions that I may have at this time. I voluntarily agree to participate in this research study, and I am aware that I may withdraw at any time without penalty and without loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled. I have received a copy of this form.

_____ _____

Signature of Participant Date

_____ _____

Investigator Signature Date

Appendix E: Most Relevant Definitions

Assistant coach is "any coach who is designated by the institution's athletics department to perform coaching duties" (NCAA, 2015, p. 47), is paid to perform these duties, and is currently on a NCAA Division I women's basketball coaching staff as an assistant coach.

Black or African American is an individual who self-identifies as a "person having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa" (U.S. Department of Commerce, 2013). The decision to use Black in the title of this paper was twofold: (a) Black is how NCAA coaches and athletes have been referred to by the NCAA (2015c) and (b) some sport sociologists suggest that researchers use a critical Black theoretical standpoint (McDonald & Birrell, 1999) as a way to generate a more liberating discourse regarding racial formations, self-definitions, and processes in the study of race equality (Borland & Bruening, 2010). Since half of the participants self-identified as Black (n=4) and half self-identified as African American (n=4), both Black and African American were used to describe race throughout this paper.

Gendered racism is the "unique forms of oppression [experienced by Black women] due to their simultaneous 'Blackness' and 'femaleness,'" and this oppression has a negative effect on the psychological distress of Black women (Thomas, Witherspoon, & Speight, 2008, p. 307)

Intersectionality is a theoretical approach used to study the impact of multiple social identities and oppressions. When using an intersectional approach, researchers study the unique positions that are created at the intersection of multiple social identities (Crenshaw, 1989).

National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) "is a membership-driven organization [in the United States] dedicated to safeguarding the well-being of student-athletes and equipping them with the skills to succeed on the playing field, in the classroom and throughout life" (NCAA, 2015c).

NCAA Division I consists of a group of nearly 350 colleges and universities that "generally have the biggest student bodies, manage the largest athletics budgets and offer the most generous number of scholarships" (NCAA, 2015b).

Appendix F: Figures and Tables

Table 1

Detailed Review of Coach Development Literature

Study	Participants	Method(s)/ Data Analysis	Findings about Coach Development	Types of Learning Investigated	Other Key Points
Bloom, Durand-Bush, Schinke, and Salmela, 1998	21 expert Canadian team sport coaches (mean age=45.5 years) A variety of team sports were represented No mention of gender, race, or ethnicity of coaches.	Semi-structured interviews/ Inductive Qualitative	The participants were mentored as both players and coaches. The mentors taught them tactical and technical information, but also information about how to deal with people. The mentoring process allowed them to obtain practical experiences. Once these coaches reached expert status, they became mentors for novice coaches.	Mediated Unmediated Informal	The mentors mentioned in the study helped athletes inside and out of sport. There were not set guidelines for how to mentor. The mentor can also benefit from the relationship that is developed.
Dieffenbach, Murray, and Zakrajsek, 2011	53 students completing an internship as a part of a collegiate coaching degree (14 female, 39 male, 62% Caucasian, 23% African-American, 9% Hispanic, and 4% Asian) A variety of team and individual sports were represented (73.6% team-based)	Online Survey/ Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis	The participants were given the opportunity to perform a variety of coaching behaviors such as leading drills in practice, correcting technique errors, and encouraging athletes to have a positive attitude. The participants also reported learning a variety of skills from the internship including administrative responsibilities, challenges of the profession, leadership and motivation.	Mediated Formal	During the internship course, the professor was able to supplement knowledge gaps between what the students learned in their courses and what they were learning during their internship. The participants with high total experience scores reported being more prepared to coach than those with low total experience scores. At the end of their academic programs, they felt prepared to coach.

Table 1. Continued.

Study	Participants	Method(s)/ Data Analysis	Findings about Coach Development	Types of Learning Investigated	Other Key Points
Erickson, Bruner, MacDonald, and Côté, 2008	44 Canadian developmental coaches who have achieved Level 2 or 3 National Coaching Certification Program (NCCP) certification (19 female, 25 male, mean age=40.5 years) A variety of team and individual sports were represented. No mention of race or ethnicity	2 Interviews/ Quantitative	The coaches reported that the most important sources of actual knowledge were doing, interacting with others, the NCCP, and mentors. The coaches indicated that ideally the most important source of knowledge would be the NCCP, followed closely by mentors, and finally by learning by doing	Mediated Unmediated Formal Informal	Coaches who wanted to move to an elite level ranked doing as a more ideal way to learn than those who wanted to work at the developmental level. Learning by doing and by interacting with other coaches is not a part of the NCCP curriculum. Print and electronic materials, non-NCCP clinics and school, and observing other coaches were rarely identified as important sources of information.
Erickson, Côté, and Fraser-Thomas, 2007	19 current or former high-performance coaches in Canada 10 team-sport coaches (1 female, 9 male, mean age=39.8 years) 9 individual- sport coaches (3 female, 6 male, mean age=50.4 years) Variety of sports represented No mention of race or ethnicity	Retrospectiv e interview/ Quantitative	Five stages of coach development: 1. Experience multiple sports at a young age 2. Participated in sport at a competitive level 3. Introduced to coaching while playing at a highly competitive level 4. Begin coaching part time 5. High-performance head coach	Mediated Unmediated Formal Informal	These stages occur chronologically. The high performance coaches in the study were introduced to sport around the age of 6 and became head coaches at approximately age 29. Mentoring primarily occurred during stage 4. These coaches did not spend much time in formal coaching education.

Table 1. Continued.

Study	Participants	Method(s)/ Data Analysis	Findings about Coach Development	Types of Learning Investigated	Other Key Points
Falcão, Bloom, and Gilbert, 2012	6 youth sport coaches from recreational and competitive league Soccer and basketball teams across several ages were represented No mention of gender, race, or ethnicity of coaches	Semi-structured interviews, pre and post-intervention forms, field notes, and reflective journals/ Qualitative	At the end of a coach training program designed to promote youth development outcomes, the participants felt they were more prepared to use sport as a way to promote life skills, understand their players better, and work better with other coaches. The coaches also indicated that the program led to positive effects for the athletes and the team as a whole.	Mediated Formal	The intervention was a two-hour workshop. The authors attribute the success of the workshop in leading to behavior change of the coaches to the participation approach that they facilitators followed. The participants were active agents throughout the workshop.
Gilbert and Trudel, 2005	6 model youth sport coaches (1 female, 5 male) Hockey and soccer were represented No mention of race or ethnicity	Semi-structured interviews, documents, and observation/ Case study	Reflection is critical to the experiential learning process within coach development. Four conditions influence reflection and how it can be used for coach development: 1. Access to knowledgeable peers that the coach trusts, respects, whose expertise the coach believes in 2. The stage of learning the coach is currently in 3. The characteristics of the issue being reflected upon 4. The environment of the coach	Internal	By promoting opportunities for coaches to reflect, the likelihood of learning from experience is increased.

Table 1. Continued.

Study	Participants	Method(s)/ Data Analysis	Findings about Coach Development	Types of Learning Investigated	Other Key Points
Irwin, Hanton, and Kerwin, 2004	16 elite men's artistic gymnastic coaches (15 male, 1 female) No mention of race or ethnicity	Semi-structured interview/ Inductive content analysis	Initial coaching knowledge comes from: Mentor coaches Trial and error Past experience Coaching courses Squad sessions (clinics) Coaching manuals Videos and observations Coaches from other countries and travel	Mediated Unmediated Formal Nonformal Informal	The authors developed a schematic model to demonstrate how each of these sources interact to affect to the knowledge development of a coach. In order to acquire greater knowledge, coaches either try to work it out themselves or seek the advice of more experienced coaches.
Jones, Armour, and Potrac, 2003	1 male professional soccer coach No mention of race or ethnicity	5 informal interviews/ Life-story	Development occurs by: a) Learning from others through mentoring and observations b) Learning from self through previous coaching and playing experience c) Learning from formal education (e.g. coach certification)	Mediated Unmediated Formal Informal	He learned what to do and what not to do by observing other coaches. The knowledge gained from the coach certification programs lacked depth.

Table 1. Continued.

Study	Participants	Method(s)/ Data Analysis	Findings about Coach Development	Types of Learning Investigated	Other Key Points
Kilty, 2006	Women attending the United States Olympic Committee (USOC)/ National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) sponsored Women in Coaching Conferences Elite head coaches, assistant coaches, and young women interested in coaching Variety of sports represented All participants were female No mention of race or ethnicity	Not included	The perception that male coaches are more competent than female coaches, homologous reproduction, homophobia, and lack of female mentors are external barriers for the development of female coaches. Perfectionism, difficulty with being assertive and self-promotion, and stress regarding work/life balance are internal barriers for the development of female coaches.	Unmediated Informal Nonformal	Creating a more relationship-oriented athletic work environment could help decrease barriers for female coaches. Kilty suggests coaching conferences for women, institutional and individual strategies, mentoring, and advocacy as possible ideas for creating a more ideal athletic environment.

Table 1. Continued.

Study	Participants	Method(s)/ Data Analysis	Findings about Coach Development	Types of Learning Investigated	Other Key Points
Koh, Bloom, Fairhurst, Paiement, and Kee, 2014	12 mentors (1 female, 11 male, mean age= 47.6 years) All elite basketball coaches 36 mentees (7 female, 29 male, mean age=31.5 years) All enrolled in a Level 1 basketball coaching course in Singapore No mention of race or ethnicity	Focus group interviews/ Inductive, "long table" approach	Mentees learned technical knowledge about their sport, sport psychology, innovative thinking, and how to best mange their time from the mentors. They also believed that certification was a way to acquire knowledge. The mentors also benefitted from serving as mentors by gaining new tactical and technical knowledge.	Mediated Formal	The formalized mentoring relationship was established as a part of a formal coaching education curriculum and neither party chose with whom they would be matched. The mentees were only guaranteed 8 hours with their mentor. Lengthening the time spent with the mentor and improving how mentees were matched with their mentors were improvements suggested by the participants.
Jimenez, Lorenzo, and Ibanez, 2009	8 male, elite professional basketball coached (mean coaching experience= 28.9 years) No mention of race or ethnicity	Semi-structured interviews/ Qualitative	4 stages of development in the expert coach process: 1. Imitative practice 2. Reflective practice 3. Development knowledge 4. Expert coach The participants also identified how they progressed through these stages. Being reflective and critical of their experience as a coach was the best way to learn. Previous playing experience, relationships with mentors and peers, observations of other coaches, and outside sources were also important.	Mediated Unmediated Internal Formal Nonformal Informal	During the imitative practice stage, the coaches would use drills they learned as players even if these were not appropriate for the athletes they were working with. The coaches in this study also mention a desire for continuing improvement. Some coaches did attend classes and clinics, but these at times had limited usefulness to the coaches.

Table 1. Continued.

Study	Participants	Method(s)/ Data Analysis	Findings about Coach Development	Types of Learning Investigated	Other Key Points
Lemyre, Trudel, Durand-Bush, 2007	36 youth coaches in Canada at the recreational or developmental-performance level (5 female, 31 male) Soccer, ice hockey, and baseball were represented No mention of race or ethnicity	Two interviews/ Narrative	Most of the coaches had playing experience as well as coaching or teaching experience that contributed to their development. During their first three years as a coach, coaches used a variety of sources to obtain knowledge including training courses, resource materials, the internet, and interactions with other coaches, managers, league supervisors, players, and friends and family members.	Mediated Unmediated Formal Nonformal Informal	The soccer coaches in this study were less likely to have playing experience. The authors suggest that within youth sports a community of practice should be established to help coaches develop. This will allow the sharing of information. It will also allow coaches to be gradually placed in head coach positions.
Piggott, 2012	12 coaches at varying levels (4 female, 8 male, mean age=26.3 years) A variety of team and individual sports were represented. No mention of race or ethnicity	Semi-structured interviews/ Deductive content analysis	Most of the coach education courses were based on a manual or a "gold standard" and perceived as useless to the participants. The development of the coach was enhanced in courses where coaches were encouraged to question what they were being taught, share and cooperate with other members of the course.	Mediated Formal	Progressing through coach education courses often increase the status of the coach and are viewed as a necessary means. Coaching manuals are strictly followed during courses but ignored after the course is complete. Coach educators may work to protect their positions of power by ignoring questions or challenges to what they are teaching. Coaches will simply accept the teaching of the educator in order to pass the class.

Table 1. Continued.

Study	Participants	Method(s)/ Data Analysis	Findings about Coach Development	Types of Learning Investigated	Other Key Points
Reade, Rodgers, and Hall, 2008	205 Canadian Interuniversity Sport (CIS) high-performance coaches (165 male, 38 female, 2 did not report gender) A variety of sports were represented. No mention of race or ethnicity	Questionnaire/Quantitative	Sources of information preferred by coaches include other coaches, clinics, videos, sport scientists (especially if they were at a university with academic programs in sport science), watching elite performers.	Unmediated Nonformal	Only looking for information from other coaches could lead to the reproduction of practices that outdated or harmful.
Schempp, Webster, McCullick, Busch, and Sannen Mason, 2007	31 elite golf instructors No mention of gender, race or ethnicity	Survey/ Qualitative	Continually improved practice by adapting their teaching approaches, seeking help from other respected practitioners, reading, and using technology	Unmediated Internal Informal	The golf instructors used self-monitoring which allowed them to analyze their behavior, set goals to modify their behavior if necessary, and implement these changes in the most efficient and effective way possible. This moves beyond reflection that is often discussed in coach development literature.

Table 1. Continued.

Study	Participants	Method(s)/ Data Analysis	Findings about Coach Development	Types of Learning Investigated	Other Key Points
Weiss, Barber, Sisley, and Ebbeck, 1991	28 female coaches with varying levels of experience (mean age=26.6 years) Completed a season-long coaching internship A variety of sports were represented. No mention of race or ethnicity	Interview/ Inductive content analysis	The internship allowed the participants to further develop their coaching skills. At the conclusion of the internship, the participants identified their perceived strengths as communication and teaching skills and perceived weaknesses sport-specific knowledge and practice planning.	Mediated Formal	During a follow-up interview 18 months after the internship, 87% of the coaches in the study were coaching or planning to coach when an opportunity became available. The results also indicated that coaching education programs should include more sport-specific skills training in order to help women eliminate this as a weakness.
Wright, Trudel, and Culver, 2007	35 male, volunteer youth hockey coaches in Canada (mean age= 45 years) Coached a variety ages No mention of race or ethnicity	Interview/ Qualitative	Seven learning situations: 1. National Coaching Certification Program 2. Coaching clinics 3. Mentoring 4. Books and videos 5. Personal experiences 6. Other coaches 7. Internet	Mediated Unmediated Formal Nonformal Informal	Mentors mentioned by these participants included a coach mentor who hired by one of the associations to work with the coaches in that association and coach development directors who are also hired by associations and are responsible for coach development. The personal experiences mentioned included playing and coaching hockey, family interactions, and leadership skills learned at work.

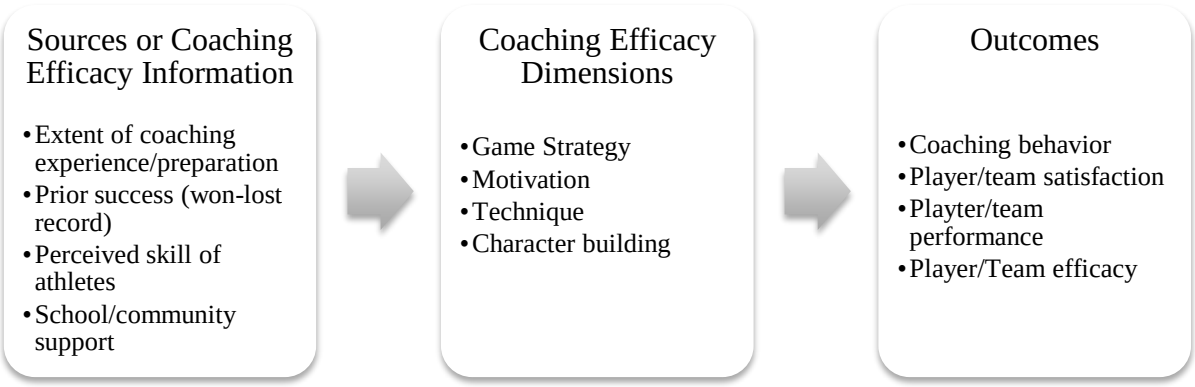

Figure 1. Conceptual Model of Coaching Efficacy. Adapted from Feltz, Chase, Moritz, and Sullivan (1999).

Vita

Leslie Kaye Larsen was born in New Smyrna Beach, Florida on May 28, 1986 and was raised in Benton, Arkansas. She is the daughter of Bryan and Laura Larsen and has one older brother Lance Larsen. Leslie received her Bachelor's of Science in Psychology and Bachelor's of Arts in Spanish from Arkansas State University in Jonesboro, Arkansas in 2008. Then, she attended the Georgia Southern University in Statesboro, Georgia from 2008-2010 to obtain her Master's of Science in Kinesiology with an emphasis in Sport Psychology. In 2010, Leslie accepted a position as an assistant women's basketball coach at Arkansas State University and stayed in that position until 2013. She began her doctoral studies in Sport Psychology and Motor Behavior at the University of Tennessee under the supervision of her advisor Dr. Leslee Fisher. Leslie received a Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Tennessee in May 2016.